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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

MY SUMMER WITH DR. SINGLETARY.

CHAPTER V.—*The Hill Side.*

The pause which followed the conversation recorded in our last chapter was broken abruptly by the Skipper.

"Hillo!" he cried, pointing with the glazed hat with which he had been fanning himself. "Here's away in the Northeast. Going down the coast for better fishing, I guess."

"An eagle, as I live!" exclaimed the Doctor, following with his eane the direction of the Skipper's hat. "Just see how royally he wheels upward and onward, his 'sail-broad wings' stretched motionless, save an occasional flap to keep up his impetus. Look! the circle in which he moves grows narrower; he is a gray cloud in the sky; a point, a mere speck, or dust most. And now he is clean swallowed up in the distance. The wise man of old did well to confess his ignorance of 'the way of an eagle in the air.'"

"The eagle," said Elder Staples, "seems to have been a favorite illustration of the sacred penman. 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength: they shall mount upward as on the wings of an eagle.'"

"What think you of this passage?" said the Doctor: "'As when a bird hath flown through the air, there is no token of her way to be found; but the light air beaten with the stroke of her wings, and parted by the violent noise and motion thereof, is passed through, and therein afterward no sign of her path can be found.'"

"I don't remember the passage," said the Elder.

"I dare say not," quoth the Doctor. "You clergyman take it for granted that no good thing can come from the Canaereth of the Apocrypha. But where will you find anything more beautiful and cheering than these verses, in connection with that which I just cited?

"'The hope of the ungodly is like dust that is blown away by the wind: like the thin foam which is driven by the storm: like the smoke which is scattered here and there by the whirlwind; it passeth away like the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day. But the righteous live forevermore; their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them with the Most High.

"'Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand, for with His right hand shall He cover them, and with His arm shall He protect them.'"

"That, if I mistake not, is from the Wisdom of Solomon," said the Elder. "It is a striking passage, and there are many such in the uncanonical books."

"Canonical or not," answered the Doctor, "it is God's truth, and stande in no need of the endorsement of a set of well-meaning but purblind bigote and pedants, who preeamed to set metes and bounds to Divine Inspiration, and decide by vote what is God's truth and what is the devil's falsehood. But, epeaking of eagles, I never see one of these spiteful old sea-robbers without fancying that he may be the soul of a mad Viking of the middle centuries. Depend upon it, that Italian philosopher was not far out of the way in his ingenious speculations upon the affinities and sympathies existing between certain men and certain animals, and in fancying that he saw feline or canine traits and eimilitudee in the countenances of his acquaintance."

"Swedenborg tells us," said I, "that lost human souls, in the spiritual world, as ceen by the angels, frequently wear the outward shapes of the lower animals; for instance—the grose and sensual look like swine, and the cruel and obscene like foul birds of prey, such as hawks and vultures; and that they are entirely unconscious of the metamorphosis, imagining themselves marvellous proper men,' and are quite well satisfied with their company and condition."

"Swedenborg!" said the Elder, "was an insane man, or worse."

"Perhaps so," said the Doctor, "but there is a great deal of 'method in his madness,' and plain common sense, too. There is one grand and beautiful idea underlying all his revelations, or speculations about the future life. It is this: that each spirit chooses its own society, and naturally finds its fitting place and sphere of action—following in the new life, as in the present, the leading of its prevailing loves and desires—and that, hence, no one is arbitrarily compelled to be good or evil, happy or miserable. A great law of attraction and gravitation governs the spiritual as well as the material universe; but, in obeying it, the spirit retains in the new life whatever freedom of will it possessed in its first stage of being. But I see the Elder shakes his head, as much as to say, I am 'wise above what is written,' or at any rate, meddling with matters beyond my comprehension. Our young friend, here," he continued, turning to me, "has the appearance of a listener, but I suspect he is busy with his own reveries, or enjoying the fresh sights and sounds of this fine morning. I doubt whether our discourse has edified him."

"Pardon me," said I, "I was indeed listening to another and older oracle."

"Well, tell us what you hear," said the Doctor.

"A faint, low murmur, rising and falling on the wind. Now it comes rolling in upon me wave after wave of sweet, solemn music. There was a grand organ-swell! and now it dies away as into the infinite distance; but I still hear it—whether with ear or spirit I know not—the very ghost of sound."

"Ah, yes," said the Doctor, "I understand it—it is the voice of the pines yonder—a sort of morning song of praise to the Giver of Life and Maker of Beauty. My ear is dull, now, and I cannot hear it; but I know it is sounding on as it did when I first climbed up here in the bright June mornings of boyhood. And it will sound on just the eame when the deafness of the grave shall settle upon my failing senses. Did it never occur to you that this deafness and blindness to accustomed beauty and harmony is one of the saddest thoughts connected with the great change which awaits us? Have you not felt, at times, that our ordinary conceptions of Heaven itself, derived from the vague hints and oriental imagery of the Scriptures, are sadly inadequate to our human wants and hopes! How gladly would we forego the golden streets and gates of pearl, the thrones, temples, and harps, for the sunset lights of our native valleys—the wood-paths, whose moss carpets are woven with violets and wind flowers—the songs of birds, the low of cattle, the hum of bees in the apple-blossom—the sweet, familiar voices of human life and Nature! In the place of strange splendors, and unknown music, should we not welcome rather whatever reminded us of the common sights and sounds of our old home?"

"You touch a sad chord, Doctor," said I. Would that we could feel assured of the eternity of all we love!"

"And have I not an assurance of it at this very moment?" returned the Doctor.

"My outward ear fails me, yet I seem to hear as formerly the sound of the wind in the pines. I close my eyes, and the picture of my home is still before me; I see the green hillslope and meadows—the white shaft of the village steeple springing up from the midst of maples and elms—the river all afire with sunshine—the broad, dark belt of woodland, and, away beyond, all the blue level of the ocean. And now, by a single effort of will, I can call before me a winter picture of the same scene. It is morning as now, but how different! All night has the white meteor fallen, in broad flake or minutest crystal, the quiet and playful ming of winds that have wrought it into a thousand shapes of wild beauty. Hill and valley, tree and fence, wood-sled and wall-sweep, barn and pig-sty, fishing-smacks frozen up at the wharf, ribbed monsters of dismantled hulks scattered along the river-side, all lie transfigured in the white glory and sunshine. The eye, wherever it turns, aches with the cold brilliance, unrelieved save where the blue smoke of morning fires curl lazily up from the Parian roofs, or where the main channel of the river, as yet unfrozen, shows its long winding line of dark water shimmering like a snake in the sun. Thus you perceive that the spirit sees and hears without the aid of bodily organs; and why may it not be so hereafter? Grant but memory to us, and we can lose nothing by death. The scenee now passing before us will live in eternal reproduction, created anew at will. We assuredly shall not love Heaven the less, that it is separated by no impassable gulf from this fair and goodly earth, and that the pleasant pictures of time linger like sunset clouds along the horizon of eternity. When I am no longer, I shall not be greatly troubled by the insecure tenure by which my senses held the beauty and harmony of the outward world. When I looked at the moonlight on the water, or the cloud shadows on the hills, or the sunset sky, with the tall, black tree-boles and waving foliage relieved against it; or when I heard a mellow gush of music from the brown-breasted fife-bird in the summer woods, or the merry quaver of the bobolink in the corn-land, the thought of an eternal loss of these familiar sights and sounds would sometimes shall through me with a sharp and bitter pain. I have reason to thank God that this fear no longer troubles me. Nothing that is really valuable and necessary for us can ever be lost. The present will live hereafter; memory will bridge over the gulf between the two worlds, for only on the condition of their intimate union can we preserve our identity and personal consciousness. Blot out the memory of this world, and what would Heaven or Hell be to us? Nothing whatever. Death would be simple annihilation of our activities, and the substitution therefor of a new creation, in which we should have no more interest than in an inhabitant of Jupiter or the fixed stars.

The Elder, who had listened silently thus far, not without an occasional and apparently involuntary manifestation of dissent, here interposed.

"Pardon me, my dear friend," said he, "but I must needs say that I look upon speculations of this kind, however ingenious or plausible, as unprofitable, and well nigh presumptuous. For myself, I only know that I am a weak, sinful man, accountable to and cared for by a just and merciful God. What he has in reserve for me hereafter, I know not, nor have I any warrant to pry into His secrets. I do not know what it is to pass from one life to another; but I humbly hope that when I am sinking in the dark waters, I may hear His voice of compassion and encouragement—'It is I; be not afraid!'"

"Amen!" said the Skipper, solemnly.

"I dare say the Parson is right, in the main," said the Doctor. "Poor creatures, at the best, it is safe for us to trust, like children, in the goodness of our Heavenly Father, and to speculate too curiously in respect to the things of future life; and, notwithstanding all I have said, I quite agree with good old Bishop Hall: 'It is enough for me to rest in the hope that I shall one day see them; in the mean time, let me be learnedly ignorant and incuriously devout, silently blessing the power and wisdom of my Infinite Creator, who knows how to honor himself by all these unrevealed and glorious subordinations.'"

MR. GIDDINGS made a speech to the fifteenth Anti-Slavery Fair of Pennsylvania, on Thursday evening, the 18th ult. He was introduced to the audience by Rev. William H. Furness, in a happy address. Mr. G. in the course of his speech alluded to the fact that during the whole fourteen years he had been a member of Congress, he had never heard the Chaplain of the House offer a prayer for the victims of oppression confined in the prisons of the District of Columbia. He eaid:

"Claiming to be minietere of Him who came to proclaim liberty to the captivee and the opening of the prison to them that were bound, they utterly excluded the slaves from the circle of their sympathies. On one occasion, several years ago, just after he had finished an antislavery speech in the House, he was told that somebody wished to see him in the recess. On passing out, the Chaplain, Mr. Tustin, introduced him to Rev. Dr. Wylie, of Scotland, a delegate to this country from the Free Church. The Doctor thereupon complimented him for the anti-slavery speech which he (Mr. G.) had delivered; in reply to which he said, in the hearing of Mr. Tustin, 'I have to do all the preaching and praying for the slaves in the House, for only on that occasion do I hear a prayer for everybody else, never remembers the wretched victims of yonder slave prison.' Dr. Wylie, turning to the Chaplain, with a most expressive glance, asked, 'Brother Tustin, is this true?' Mr. T. was very much embarrassed, and could only stammer out, "O, we don't think it would be prudent to make any allusion to the subject."

Mr. Giddings was also to speak in Lancaster, Westchester, Phœnixville, and Norristown. *

For the National Era.

THE DEATH OF THE SLAVE LEWIS.

In the deep sanctuary of sheltering night,
Kept by the angels of the stars serene,
The meanest hireling holds his vested right—
Secure, alone, unlyrit, free from thought and sight
The weight of grief that shall be, or hath been.

Within his walls young lovers tune their strings,
And ravished saints breathe adoration deep;
But softly prayer and song unfold their wings,
Lest ev'n the full heart's upward murmurings
Too rudely touch the silver spell of sleep.

From out that holy realm of night, a shriek,
As of a soul in Hades, rent the veil
Of silence—then a prophet seemed to speak,
To Jesse roused not, "Turn th' unsmitten cheek;"
But, "Blood for blood," answered the dismal wail.

And then I heard a piteous creature lift
His agonising pleadings, where he stood
Bound, naked, marked with many a bloody rift,
While blows urged on, in torture cries, his shrift
To one with drunken fury in his blood.

The brute but flogged the harder for his cry;
It gave the horrid sport a keener zest:
It is appointed once to man to die;
But what the crime, the agony, say I,
Whon twenty murders tear one bleeding breast?

"They beat him with a broad, fist thong," 'tis urged,
For all security of life and limb;
Brethren, was He by whom men's sins are purged,
Ev'n thus with a broad leather merely scourged,
Why waste our wounnih hearts their throbs on him?

Blows rained upon him, till his yielding brain
Had fashioned out the tale they wished to learn,
In dreadful inspiration of his pain,
They left him, gibbet-wise, within his chain,
To scourge a brother victim, and return.

They set a man to watch him, they aver,
Who, as men will, forsook his misery;
But, left to stand, unless his statement err,
Not rest nor healing could the sufferer,
But, "Can you lend me any help to die?"

Blind Nature has an instinct to be free;
Despair is mighty, though her hands be tied;
Howo'er he bowed the head and bent the knee,
(The sotion has a dark sublimity,)
The black man gathered up his strength, and died.

They left theo, Lewis, with thy wounds all warm,
But when they came, to heap thy measure o'er,
Free in the flesh was the unfettered form.
Oh! theirs the crime, if in hate's wildest storm,
Thy soul, unbidden, sought th' eternal shore.

Priests tell us of the guilt of suicide—
Let the word pause upon the nutried tongue!
They stormed life's citadel, ill-fortified,
Till the vexed soul fled, powerless to abide,
And Death's pale flag of truce aloft was flung.

Death was thy champion; 'neath his icy shield
Thy rescued body lapped the whip in scorn,
While by those wound-mouths, never to be sealed,
Thy soul unto the Ever Just appealed,
Cried out to God, "Remember what I've borne!"

Where stays avenging Justice? why compel
Our hearts to seek her in th' abyss below?
Shuddering, our eyes glance downwards for a hell,
Since Judge Judge Lynch, Richardson, Riddle, Cobb,
"A slave the victim? let the white man go!"

It is no murder, when unsanctioned fere
Wastes a poor negro's life beneath the thong
In your brave South. Where freer law has course,
A man who toys too rudely with his horse
Is held a culprit, and acquits the wrong.

But there must be a hell, as thou shalt know
By all its furies loosed within thy breast.
Remorse shall feed on those his hunger slew;
Or, art thou for her craving sunk too low,
Spectres of fear shall scare thee from thy rest.

The curse of Cain shall hunt thy wandering thought,
To frantic haste, to fainting weariness.
Lookest thou earthward, blood is there unsought;
Skyward, the clouds th' avenging hue have ought,
And mock, like crimson monsters, thy distress.

Scourging for scourging, but in keener kind,
And death for death, but in a living grave;
While, through the torment of thy mind,
Thou shalt behold and envy, peace-enshrined,
The placid phantom of thy murder'd slave.

Ev'n though thou babble from the mystic book,
And taste the sacred symbols of thy creed,
Let Christ's black brother from the altar look,
Faint, father, heir his withering rebuke—
The bear'ng food can poison too, at need.

I pause, unwilling further to rehearse
The woeds, or shut these from God's clemency,
Rather, I'll weep, and wish these nothing worse
Than that, returning blessing for thy curse,
Thy victim's soul may plead with God for thee.

GIULIANA.

THE HUNGARIAN CATHOLICS AND KOSSUTH.—Those who entertain the opinion that all Catholics hold the views of Bishop Hughes in relation to Kossuth and his cause are very much mistaken—to suppose so, would put the Catholics in a false position. It is worthy of remark that eleven of the seventeen Roman Catholic Bishops of Hungary addressed a memorial to the King of Hungary in October, 1848, favorable to the cause of Kossuth. The five Bishops who did not sign the address were detained from the Convention by causes beyond their control, one Bishopric being then vacant. *

MISSOURI.—Colonel Benton has issued an address to the Democracy of Jefferson county, Missouri, dated December 13, in reply to an invitation to visit and address them. He recapitulates the causes of the political troubles in that State at length, which he enumerates as follows:

"1. Repudiation of the Nullification Secession resolutions of 1849. 2. Repudiation of the Platform of 1848, and the Platform for a Whig Senator. 3. Adhesion to the right of instruction within the limits of the Constitution, and according to the will of the people. 4. Adhesion to the Baltimore platform of 1848."

In relation to the 4th article, (the Baltimore platform of 1848,) he eaye:

"That platform contains the Democratic ground in relation to slavery. The Nullifiere wish to engraft upon it a new dogma, which was expressly and almost unanimously rejected by the convention which framed it, namely, *That Congress has no right to legislate upon slavery in the Territories.* This doctrine, like all the doctrines of the school to which it belongs, is of modern invention, and only invented for the purpose of multiplying chances to find pretexts to resist the laws of Congress, and for flying off into that new confederacy which is to consist wholly of slave States, and to be christened "*The United States South.*" The Democracy take the Baltimore platform as it was agreed to—not as it was not agreed to—still less as rejected—and, above all, so attempted to be interpolated by the dregs of the party which made the effort, and so miserably failed in it, at Baltimore."

The St. Louis *Union*, in which we find this address, fully endorses the past and present political conduct of Colonel Benton. A correspondent of the eome paper gives as his opinion that but few of those who signalized themselves in opposition to the Democracy of Missouri will ever return to it—"they are a broken wing, which must drop off." He advises the Democracy to pursue a progressive policy, and says, that although the Nullifiers have managed to unseat him (Col. B.) in the Senate, yet "he can beat them in the other House in August, where he is much needed."

It is evident that the Democracy of Missouri are unwilling to lose the services of Colonel Benton. He has identified himself with the interests of the State, and no one, we presume, will be surprised to see him returned to the House of Representatives. He is a man of indomitable energy and perseverance, and will make his mark in whatever capacity he may be employed. *

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The Senate did not sit to-day.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

Under the rules of the House, no resolution can be offered, except on Mondays, unless it be moved by unanimous consent. Therefore, immediately after the Journal had been read to-day—

Mr. Carter moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, with a view to proposing the following resolution in Committee, and he hoped that the House would indulge him in a single remark:

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the Chair, to wait upon Louis Kossuth, on his arrival in the capital, and introduce him to the House of Representatives.

Mr. McMullen objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Mr. Carter said that the objection was of no avail, his motion being that the House go into Committee for the purpose of taking up the resolution.

Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, suggested that, even if the motion to go into Committee should prevail, the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union could not take up this resolution, as it could only consider such subjects as had been referred to it.

The Speaker stated that this was a question for the Committee to decide, and not the House.

Mr. Carter demanded the yeas and nays on agreeing to his motion, which were ordered.

Mr. McMullen, remarking that the House was thin, moved that there be a call of the House; a call was equivalent.

The yeas and nays were then taken on the motion to go into Committee, and resulted as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Willis Allen, Allison, John Appleton, William Appleton, Babcock, Bartlett, Beale, Bissell, Bowie, Bowne, John H. Boyd, Brenton, Briggs, Buell, Busby, Joseph Cable, L. D. Campbell, Carter, Chapman, Chastain, Cleveland, Clingman, Conger, George T. Davis, John G. Davis, Dean, Disney, Doty, Durkee, Eastman, Egerton, Ficklin, Floyd, Fowler, Fuerry, Hall, Thomas J. D. Fuller, Gaylord, Gentry, Giddings, Gilmore, Gorman, Green, Grow, Hascall, Hendricks, Horsford, John W. Howe, Thomas M. Howe, Hunter, Ingersoll, Ives, John Johnson, Robert W. Johnson, T. T. Jones, George W. King, Preston King, Kuhns, Letcher, Mace, Mann, E. C. Marshall, McDonald, Meacham, Miner, Molony, John Moore, Nabors, Newton, Olds, Peaslee, Penniman, Perkins, Pitman, Richardson, Riddle, Robie, Robinson, Sackett, Schermerhorn, Scudder, D. L. Seymour, O. S. Seymour, Skelton, Smart, Snow, Benjamin Stanton, F. P. Stanton, R. H. Stanton, Strother, Stuart, Sutherland, Sweetser, G. W. Thompson, Thurston, Townshend, Tuck, Wallbridge, Walsh, Ward, Washburn, Welsh, White, Whitrick, and Yates—104.

NAYS—Messrs. Abercrombie, Aiken, Ashe, Averett, T. H. Bayly, Barrere, Bocock, Bragg, A. G. Brown, E. C. Cabell, Caldwell, Churchwell, Clark, Colcock, Cooper, Craige, Edmundson, Ewing, Fitch, Goodenow, Hall, Hamilton, Harper, Isham G. Harris, S. W. Harris, Haven, Hebard, Henn, Hillyer, Jackson, Andrew Johnson, James Johnson, C. W. Jones, H. Marshall, Martin, McMullen, Milson, Morehead, Murphy, Orr, Powell, Savage, Scurry, Smith, Stanly, Taylor, Venable, Wallace, Watkins, and Williams—50.

So the motion was agreed to.

And the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Jones of Tennessee in the chair.)

[Analysis of the above vote, viz:

YEAS.	
Northern Democrats	52
Ditto Whige	35
Southern Democrats	10
Ditto Whigs	7
	104

NAYS.	
Northern Democrats	5
Ditto Whigs	5
Southern Democrats	29
Ditto Whigs	11
	50

ABSENT.	
Northern Democrats	32
Ditto Whige	17
Southern Democrats	22
Ditto Whigs	12
	83

We have classified the delegates from the Territories and California as Northern men.]

On motion of Mr. Carter, the first subject in order for consideration supposing to refer the President's message to the various committees) was set aside.

The Chair then announced, as the next business in order, the joint resolution authorizing the architect of the Capitol to continue in employment the mechanics, laborers, and others, engaged upon the two wings thereof.

Mr. Carter moved that this subject be set aside.

Mr. Walsh hoped the motion would not prevail, but that the Committee would proceed to act upon the resolution.

The motion to set aside was agreed to—yeas 85, nays 54.

There being no subject now for the consideration in Committee—

Mr. Carter submitted his resolution.

The Chair decided that, as the Committee had disposed of all the business which had been referred to it by the House, it was now without business. In his opinion, it was not competent for the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union to originate business, and therefore the resolution of the gentleman from Ohio was not in order.

Mr. Carter appealed from this decision.

Considerable debate then ensued as to the decision of the Chair, when

The question was taken on the appeal, and the decision of the Chair was overruled—yeas 80, nays 88.

Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, raised the question of order, that special committees could only be appointed by the Speaker, unless otherwise ordered by the House, while the resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio proposed the appointment of a special committee by the chairman of the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. It was therefore not in order.

The Chair sustained the point of order.

Mr. Carter said that the resolution was designed to operate in the House, and he would modify it so that the Speaker should appoint the Committee.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, desired to know whether the resolution was now before the Committee for consideration?

The Chair replied in the affirmative.

Mr. Stephens said that he would object to the resolution under the 136th rule of the House, prescribing that no standing rule or order of the House shall be rescinded or changed without one day's notice being given; and he would also object to it under the seventeenth rule, which defined the privileges of the Hall. The object of the resolution was to extend this privilege to an individual not named in the rules, and, unless there was an infraction of these rules, the resolution could not be entertained.

The Chair concurred with the gentleman from Georgia, and stated that, but for the decision of the House a few moments ago, he would sustain the point of order.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, moved to amend the resolution by striking out all thereof, and substituting the following:

Resolved, That so much of the 17th standing rule as provides for the admission of certain persons therein named within the Hall of the House of Representatives be so modified as to embrace Governor Louis Kossuth, of Hungary; and that the Speaker of the House be requested to communicate the same to Governor Kossuth.

Mr. C. said that he desired to have a resolution adopted similar to the one which was adopted when another distinguished friend of humanity came to this city about a year ago, he alluded to Father Mathew. A resolution was then adopted, similar to the amendment he had just moved, giving to that distinguished man the privileges of the Hall.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, said that that was the proper course to pursue.

Mr. Campbell hoped that there would be no objection to the adoption of a resolution of this kind now.

The Chair decided that the amendment was not in order, because it was upon a different subject, and proposed to change a standing rule of the House, which required one day's previous notice.

Mr. Venable moved to amend the resolution by inserting in lieu thereof the words, "that the Speaker be authorized to invite Louis Kossuth to a seat within the Hall of the House."

Mr. Carter did not desire to enter upon a general discussion of matters collateral to this resolution, and he trusted the Committee would not do so. As he understood from the submitted his resolution, he introduced it as a simple, peaceful act of courtesy, already made necessary by the previous action of this House and nation. It was with this view he desired that all amendments would be voted down, and the original resolution passed or defeated.

Mr. McMullen moved an amendment to the original resolution, viz: by adding thereto, "that the said Committee also introduce to this House Colonel Scott Hayne, and such others now in this city as were engaged in the late Cuban expedition, and who were taken prisoners by the Spanish authorities, and have been released."

The Chairman ruled the amendment out of order.

Mr. Brooks said he intended to vote for the proposition of the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. Venable,] but he desired to accompany his vote with his reasons. He then stated that he had no sympathy with the revolution in the South, but he did not mean to commit himself to any interference with the affairs of Europe, or of this continent. He referred to Mr. Giddings and the resolution he introduced in 1842, who clamor for the universal liberty of all races, and advised him and them to "attend to their own business." He said—When the surges of liberty were dashing about me, and roar in my ears, I care not, under our form of Government, to discuss Slavery or Anti-Slavery, as a theological or economical question—for I regard the institution as neither. "Slavery is none of my business; I have nothing to do with it. I live under another State Government." But if this Government has a right to interfere with other Governments, and intervention is to be the order of the day and year of me, in the great Empire State, full a million of human beings, who, when the country raises the propagandist standard of universal liberty, will flock to it. "Come, Mexico, strike the chains off from that worst of all Slavery, the Abstract Slavery, from this to the Rio Grande!"

Mr. Giddings. I am astonished at the excitability of gentlemen on this floor. It would appear that no subject whatever can be introduced here, but some member will seize upon it, and give it a connection with matters which are not legitimately connected with it. Most heartily do I concur with the gentleman from New York [Mr. Brooks] in paying the tribute of my respect to the distinguished foreigner. I shall do it most cheerfully. The act is one simple in its character, and obvious in its tendency. But, sir, what right has the gentleman upon the present occasion to drag my name in, and attempt to arraign me before this House and before the nation? Why attempt to charge me with a design of involving the nation in war? I have no such design, nor ever upon this question. I sat here in silence, without the remotest idea of mingling in the debate; and had I taken upon myself to address the Chair, I should not have been out of order into my mind to connect this resolution with the question of Slavery, as the gentleman has done, or to connect it with war, as the gentleman has evidently connected it. Nothing was far from my thoughts would have been such an idea, and I deny the right of that gentleman or any other, before I have spoken, to anticipate the positions which I may take, and arraign me before the House and before the country for those positions. Have I ever at any time hesitated to express my views openly, with perfect frankness, on every and every question that has been presented to this House since I have had the honor of a seat in this Hall? I appeal with confidence to those who have been with me, to the country who have read my remarks and speeches upon subject brought before us, against this unfounded, this ungenerous charge of the gentleman. My whole political life bears testimony in contradiction of it. Whenever a proper occasion shall present itself, I shall not hesitate to express my opinion on the subject of peace with other nations, and among *all* nations, in favor of universal peace and warning the last ragged into a discussion of those principles on a subject so unsuitable as that now before us.

But what authority had he, or any other gentleman, to connect me with controversy in relation to my avowed principles of peace? Certainly from nothing which I have *said*, nor from any vote which I have ever given. There is not a single instance in which he charges, I surely had not provoked it at his hands. To him I would say, Your charge is unfounded and false; you have travelled out of your way to assail me; and the charge I will meet you most cheerfully at the proper time, or whenever the proper occasion shall arrive. The gentleman has spoken of popular sentiment, of which he appears to stand in great dread. I have no such fears. The popular mind is lighted by the intelligence of the people, and it will meto out justice, and no more than justice, to that gentleman and to myself. However much he may shrink from it, he must meet it. The gentleman appears now to tremble in view of the penalty of that "higher law" written upon the hearts of men by the finger of God. This law he has condemned and ridiculed. For the subversion of this law, he has sent so many thousands of "*lower law sermons*" broadcast throughout the free States. He must, however, meet the penalties of this popular will; he may fear and tremble and turn pale at its approach. It must come; he cannot avoid this *supreme* law, before which we must all bow. It is already inflicting its penalties upon him, and ere long will consign him to the charnel-house of political apostates.

Mr. Chairman, while on the floor I will take occasion to say that I shall most cheerfully and most heartily vote for the resolution. I wish to tender to the distinguished Kossuth, not merely the homage of my own heart, but I wish that the representatives of the people, to do it officially, in the name and on behalf of the nation. For this reason I wish to see this resolution pass, and that speedily. I decline all responsibility for the delay and omission of its merits; they will be appreciated by the people without any aid from us.

Mr. Richardson could not see much difference between the original resolution and the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. Venable.] Neither of them, he apprehended, committed this House or the country to anything. He was for this reason he was willing to vote for either of them; but he was unwilling to go any further. He was unwilling, for one, while willing to extend the hospitalities of the nation and of individuals to Kossuth, that he should commit us to his policy.

Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, did not regard the question as committing the Government to the doctrine which Kossuth had been attempting to propagate in speeches which he had been making since his arrival on our shores.

Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, said that they had been told that it was proposed to pass this resolution simply as an act of courtesy to Louis Kossuth, and gentlemen rose here, and said that they did not intend to commit the Government. In his opinion, they would not act as a constituted body without committing the Government so far as laid in their power.

Mr. Ingersoll had hoped that the House would respond to the call of the people to extend to the illustrious individual, whose name formed a part of the resolution, such a welcome as the friends of liberty had given him wherever he had gone. He wished, however, to be distinctly understood as being opposed to any intervention on the part of this Government in the affairs of Europe. He put himself upon the platform of non-intervention, but believed that good faith and humanity required the adoption of the resolution of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. Gentry, after some preliminary remarks, said that this House was now called upon to extend a courtesy to Louis Kossuth, and the only question for them to consider was, that they should be consistent themselves as gentlemen. This courtesy was required at their hands, and they should certainly receive him with all the civilities that arose under existing circumstances. The resolution ought to have been passed without debate, and in a very quiet way.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, did not view Louis Kossuth as coming to America as the special representative of Hungary. The principle of which he was the representative was the principle of intervention. Had he not made this issue in New York, and did he not there state that he did not wish to be feasted, but desired the armed intervention of the United States, if need be?

Mr. Rantoul desired that this resolution should pass as originally introduced, not because he considered Kossuth to be identified with the great cause of European liberty, and worthy of our sympathies, as were all who are champions of that cause for simply because he stood before the world as the champion of independence, although there was no higher nor holier cause in which man could be engaged, but because he came here as the representative of a principle almost peculiar to our institutions—that of State rights. It was this alone which he personified, and which no other man that ever came from the whole world personified. This higher claim he had upon his regard.

Mr. R. saw in this Government a symptom of mortality. If this Government should perish, it would perish by the encouragement of central power over the rights of sovereign States. What was the reason that liberty had been impossible in Europe? Simply because they did not do as we have done. It was because all the powers of Government were concentrated in one central power, and that power was of necessity too strong for any effort at liberty to succeed in any way. When he saw that this danger threatened our country, he asked himself, could it be possible that a man who had come to this country to assist in saving us, and all the power that God had given him, to the single purpose of defending his country against the central power of the Government, would be refused a welcome? No man who sees that the reserved rights of the sovereign States is the bulwark of our liberties? By addressing him here, they would not sanction all the principles he entertained. This question was simply whether he would have been invited here. For himself, he would glory in welcoming to America the great advocate of American principles.

Mr. Ewing said that Kossuth was proclaiming in this land doctrines, the necessary result of which, if they should prevail, would result in war, or degradation to the country in the face of the civilized world.

Mr. Taylor then obtained the floor, but yielded to a motion that the Committee rise; which being agreed to—

The Committee rose and reported progress.

Mr. Clingman offered the usual resolution to close debate on this subject in half an hour after the House shall again go into Committee, and demanded the previous question.

Mr. Millson moved that when this House adjourns, it adjourn to meet on Friday next; which motion was negatived.

On motion, the House then adjourned—yeas 90, naye 57.

THE IOWA TRUE DEMOCRAT, published at Mount Pleasant, in that State, we regret to see, has been published for the last two years by its editor, S. L. Howe, at a sacrifice. This state of things ought not longer to continue. We trust the friends of Freedom in that section will see the necessity of liberally sustaining an organ of our cause in that State. Mr. Howe's difficulties have been many and severe; and the friends of the cause should take early and efficient meane to give a substantial support to the *True Democrat*. Sound policy dictates that the local prese should be sustained; and Mr. Howe should not be permitted to struggle alone with the difficulties which surround him. *

For the National Era.

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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN:

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

CHAPTER XXVIII—*Continued.*

She found Marie sitting up in her easy-chair, with Mammy standing by her, combing her hair. Jane cat on the ground before her, busy in chafing her feet.

"How do you find yourself to day?" said Miss Ophelia.

A deep sigh and a closing of the eyes was the only reply for a moment, and then Marie answered—"Oh, I don't know, exactly; I suppose I'm as well as I ever shall be;" and Marie wiped her eyes with a cambric handkerchief, bordered with an inch deep of black.

"I came," said Miss Ophelia, "with a short, dry cough, such as commonly introduces a difficult subject."

"I came to speak with you about poor Rosa."

Marie's eyes were open wide enough now, and a flush rose to her sallow cheeks as she answered, sharply,

"Well, what about her?"

"She is very sorry for her fault."

"She is, she! She'll be sorrier before I've done with her. I've endured that child's impudence long enough, and now I'll bring her down—I'll make her lie in the dust."

"But could not you punish her some other way—some way that would be less shameful?"

"I mean to shame her; that's just what I want. She has all her life presumed on her delicacy, and her good looks, and her lady-like airs, till she forgets who she is—and I'll give her one lesson that will bring her down, I fancy."

"But, cousin, consider that if you destroy delicacy and a sense of shame in a young girl, you deprave her very fiet."

"Delicacy!" said Marie with a scornful laugh, "a fine word for such as she! I'll teach her, with all her airs, that she's no better than the raggedest black wench that walks the streets! She'll take no more airs with me."

"You will be severe to her for such cruelty," said Miss Ophelia, with energy.

"Cruelty—I'd like to know what the cruelty is! I wrote orders for only fifteen lashes, and told him to put them on lightly. I'm sure there's no cruelty there!"

"No cruelty!" said Miss Ophelia. "I'm sure any girl might rather be killed outright."

"It might seem so to anybody with your feeling, but all these creatures get used to it: it's the only way they can be kept in order. Once let them feel that they are to take any airs about delicacy and all that, and they'll run all over you, just as my servants once ran over me. I've begun now to bring them under, and I'll have them all to know that I'll send one out to be whipped as soon as another, if they don't mind themselves," said Marie, looking around her decidedly.

Jane hung her head and cowered at this, for she felt as if it was particularly directed to her. Miss Ophelia saw that a storm was rising, and had swallowed some explosive mixture, and were ready to burst. Then recollecting the utter uselessness of contention with such a nature, she shut her lips resolutely, gathered herself up, and walked out of the room.

It was hard to go back and tell Rosa that she could do nothing for her; and shortly after, one of the man servants came to say that her mistress had ordered him to take Rosa with him to the whipping house, whither she was hurried in spite of her tears and entreaties. A few days after, Tom was standing musing by the balconies, when he was joined by Adolph, who since the death of his master had been entirely crest-fallen and disconsolate. Adolph knew that he had been a favorite object of dislike to Marie, but while his master lived he had paid but little attention to it. Now that he was gone, he had moved about in daily dread, which he could not conceal from himself or his fellow servants. Marie had held several consultations with her lawyer; after communicating with St. Clare's brother, it was determined to sell the plate and the servants, except her own personal property, and therefore she intended to take with her, and go back to her father's plantation.

"Now, mayn't you, Tom, that we've all got to be sold?" said Adolph.

"How did you hear that?" said Tom.

"I hid myself behind the curtains when missis was talking over with her lawyer. In a few days we shall all be sent off to auction, Tom."

"The Lord's will be done," said Tom, folding his arms and sighing heavily.

"Why, mayn't we get another such a master," said Adolph, apprehensively; "but I'd rather be sold than take my chance under missis."

Tom turned away; his heart was full. The hope of liberty, the thought of distant wife and children, rose up before him. Europe! simply because the mariner shipwrecked almost in port rises the vision of the church-spire and loving roofs of his native village, seen over the top of some black wave only to be lost instantly, as the bereaved arms tightly over his bosom, and choked back the bitter tears, and tried to pray. The poor old soul had such a singular, unaccountable prejudice in favor of liberty, that it was a hard wrench for him! and the more he said, "Thy will be done," the worse he felt!

He sought Miss Ophelia, who, ever since Eva's death, had treated him with marked and respectful kindness.

"Miss Pheely," he said, "mass'r St. Clare promised me my freedom. He told me that he had begun the writing, and was going soon, perhaps, if Miss Pheely would be good enough to speak about it to missis, she would feel like goin on with it, as it

general confusion that ensued, Miss Ophelia made her escape to her apartment.

She saw, at once, that it would do no good to say anything more; for Marie had an indefinite capacity for hysteric fits; and, after this, whenever her husband's or Eva's wishes with regard to the servants were alluded to, she always found it convenient to set one in operation. Miss Ophelia, therefore, did the next best thing she could for Tom—she wrote a letter to Mrs. Shelby for him, stating his troubles, and urging them to send to his relief.

The next day Tom and Adolph, and some half a dozen other servants, were marched down to a slave warehouse, to await the convenience of the trader, who was going to make up a lot for auction.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 8, 1852.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

We again thank our friends for the interest they have taken in sending us new subscribers, for the promptness with which they are sending their own subscriptions, and for the many kind words contained in their letters. Our subscription list now is much larger than it has ever been, and still it is increasing. What say our friends to putting it up to twenty thousand the year? As many are still soliciting subscribers, we again publish the Prospectus.

PROSPECTUS OF THE SIXTH VOLUME OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The *National Era* is an Anti-Slavery, Literary, and Political newspaper, published weekly, at Washington, D. C., by G. Bailey. Its character may be learned by the following statement of principles.

We believe—

In the unity and common origin of the human race:

In the doctrine that God made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth:

In the golden rule—"Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you:"

In the Higher Law—"It is better to obey God than man:"

In Liberty, as the fundamental condition of Human Progress and Perfection:

In Law, as the Defence, not Destroyer, of Liberty:

In Order, as the result of Liberty established and protected, not subverted, by Law:

In the American Union, not as an end, but as a means—a means to the establishment of Liberty and Justice, worthy of support only so long as it shall answer these grand ends.

"We hold these Truths to be Self-Evident—

"That all men are created equal:

"That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights:

"That among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:

"That to secure these rights Governments are established among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed:

"That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

We hold these Truths to be applicable at all times, to all men, of whatever clime or complexion, and are therefore the uncompromising foe of all forms of Slavery, personal, political, spiritual, whether at home or abroad; and the advocate of all laws and usages having a tendency to equalize the conditions of all men, to secure to all equal opportunities for the enjoyment of liberty, acquisition of property, and pursuit of happiness.

These are the Principles that have controlled and will continue to control us in conducting the *National Era*, which is responsible for no Party, as no Party is responsible for it, owing allegiance alone to God and Humanity.

The Literary Department of the *Era* speaks for itself. To the corps of contributors who have heretofore enriched it, we shall add from time to time as our means shall warrant.

Much attention will be devoted, during the ensuing Congress, to the preparation of concise, clear, and accurate reports of its proceedings and debates, with such explanations and comments as may be deemed necessary.

The terms of the paper are as follows:

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Money to be forwarded by *mail*, at our *risk*. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposite.

It will be seen that the price of the paper, single copy, is still $2 a year. Agents sometimes allow a subscriber whom they obtain or renew, the benefit of their commission, so that the subscriber by *their* kindness gets his paper for $1.50 or $1.75, as the case may be.

All communications, whether on business or for publication, should be addressed to

G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

We regret to learn that the distinguished Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Chase,) has been summoned home, in consequence of the serious illness of a member of his family.

We see it stated, in rather an ambiguous way, in some of the newspapers from abroad, that Mr. Kossuth has been summoned before the Grand Jury of this District. It is true that he was summoned to testify in certain libel cases then pending, but the summons was almost immediately recalled. In the libel cases referred to, as we learn, the Grand Jury have found three presentments against Henry De Ahna—two for libelling Mrs. Tochman, late Addle, Jagiello, and one for libelling her husband, Major G. Tochman, of this city.

National Intelligencer.

We are authorized to state that Major Tochman is not responsible for this annoyance to which Governor Kossuth has been subjected, as he was not summoned at his instance.

BARNUM'S MUSEUM at Philadelphia was destroyed by fire on Tuesday evening, December 30. Mr. Spooner, the proprietor, is said to have lost $50,000.

FRANCE—ALARM IN ENGLAND.—The *New York Tribune* gives an extract from a private letter from London, dated December 12, which says:

"I learned through Lord Paget, Director of the Ordnance, that the British Government are a good deal alarmed at the supposition that Louis Napoleon will unite with Austria and Russia to put down England and Liberty in Europe, and that the Government dockyards are alive with as many men as can get around the ships, getting them ready for sea."

KOSSUTH has been invited by the authorities of Boston to visit that city. A resolution of welcome to Kossuth has been adopted by the Indiana Senate, and passed to a third reading in the House.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE have fixed upon the first day of June as the time, and Baltimore as the place, for holding the next National Democratic Convention.

HON. JOSEPH JOHNSON, Governor elect of Virginia, took the oath of office at Richmond on Thursday last.

RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH BY THE PRESIDENT.

The reader will find, in another place, an account of the reception of Kossuth by the President. The speech of the Hungarian is admirable in sentiment and devotion—admirable, no less for what it leaves unsaid, than for what it says. The reply of Mr. Fillmore is cold and unimpressive, marked by governmental reserve and caution, reflecting but dimly the popular sentiment in favor of Liberty.

But, two things will attract the attention of the people of Europe. Kossuth, the political refugee from Austrian and Russian tyranny, is received with formal honor by the Chief Executive of the United States, and the President styles him "Governor Kossuth," which, to a European mind, will imply a recognition of the *rightfulness* of that title.

Thus, while timid Members of Congress are frightening themselves with the spectre of Intervention, our cautious Administration has already *intervened*—for to say nothing of antecedent action, its formal reception and recognition of "Governor Kossuth," hated, feared, and proscribed by the Despotisms of Europe, is a denial of their pretensions, a rebuke to their usurpations, positive encouragement to the cause of Revolution.

The editor of a newspaper, more gifted with words than wisdom, remarked that Kossuth had utterly failed in his mission, and would soon return to Europe. In what point has he failed? He has had such a reception from the People as no man has had in this country since the time of Lafayette. He has turned the attention of the American Public more particularly to foreign affairs, and aroused them generally to the necessity of making their influence felt, in some form or other, in behalf of European Freedom. For a month, Congress and the Press have done little more than discuss the principles which he is so powerfully inculcating. From all parts of the Union he is receiving invitations of welcome, and tokens of sympathy and aid. The Great West is rising up to greet him, and soon his eloquence will arouse the tyrant-hating masses on our Western waters. At no distant day, we predict, the principles he urges will be incorporated into our foreign policy. And why? They are principles which have long been slumbering in the hearts of the People, and all that was needed to quicken them into activity was, "the hour and the man."

THE NEWS FROM EUROPE.

We have devoted much space on our fourth page to foreign news. The position of Europe is so critical, the signs of an approaching conflict, world-wide in its consequences, are so plain, that the American People cannot be too well informed of the progress of events abroad.

Still later intelligence shows that the Absolute Powers seem to regard the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, not as permanent, but merely preliminary to the re-establishment of Legitimacy; and that the relations of France and England are by no means satisfactory. The truth is, England, as the only great Power of the Old World possessing a Constitutional Government, is obnoxious to the Continental Despotisms. While she stands with her might undiminished, with the current of Popular Opinion constantly setting towards Republicanism, and affords a home to the revolutionary refugees from the Continent, there can be no peace, no safety for them. Should they succeed in establishing the military despotism of Napoleon, or in using him for the restoration of Legitimacy in France, their next step, probably, would be, to impair the resources of England, by promoting revolt upon her Continental commerce, and this might be followed by other and more hostile measures.

The English Government and People are evidently concerned at the aspect of affairs. The Future is lowering, and in the terrible conflict that seems imminent, they are beginning to cast anxious looks to their transatlantic brethren. The subject of an alliance with this country is discussed with much interest by their newspapers, and the *London Times*, hitherto notorious for its friendship for the Absolute Powers, and its libels on Americans, looks forward to the time when the most effectual ally of England may be found in the American Union.

However this may be, we rejoice at the increase of fraternal feeling between two countries, kindred in the sentiments of their People, and in the spirit, though not forms, of their institutions. We fully agree with Mr. Walker, who is doing much to produce a better understanding between the English and the Americans, that, should the time come, when Europe, under the bloody flag of Despotism, should be arrayed for the overthrow of England, it would be the duty of the United States to interpose in force in support of a nation which, despite its aristocracy, and the vices of its institutions, has a Constitutional Government, and one which is constantly drifting towards more popular forms. Let England be crippled by such a Despotic combination, let it be reduced to the condition of a second-rate Power, and rendered thereby subordinate to Absolutism, and the question of Peace or War would no longer be optional with us. The battle of the world's empire would have to be fought between Republican America and Cossack Europe.

A writer in one of our city papers, some time since, suggested that the antagonism of England to Russia was purely selfish, growing out of the danger to British possessions in the East from the advancing power of the Czar—that it was this which made her anxious to commit the United States to a hostile attitude in relation to Continental Despotisms. Grant all this, and yet, when the conflict shall come, it will be a struggle on the side of the Absolutists for universal empire, so that, no matter what *material* interests England may have at stake, she will forced into the position of a Defender of the Cause of the Popular Government. This of itself would tend to liberalize her institutions, and enhance the power of the Republican element in her empire, which is the true antagonist of Absolutism. Around her standard would cluster the hopes of Freedom—she would be recognised by the Republicans of Europe as the Foe of their Oppressors.

In such a crisis, with the World embattled, would England be left alone to struggle for the Liberties of mankind? The writer referred to says our true policy would be to remain at peace—to let England alone—we could monopolize the trade of the world—the commercial power of our great rival would receive a fatal blow—the ultimate result of such a struggle would be, the prostration of England, and the aggrandizement of the United States! Here is counsel that would disgrace the Pit. England in arms, pouring out blood and treasure for the overthrow of Despotism, and the American Union meanwhile engaged in the honorable business of stealing her trade and cutting off her resources! The world's battle between the antagonistic Principles of Liberty and Slavery, going on, and this Model Republic, like Wirt's sublime patriot in the Revolution, crying Beef! Beef! Beef! Nations bleeding at every pore, and we coining money from carnage! Sodom never presented so loathsome an aspect as this would be, and if fire and brimstone out of Heaven were not rained upon us, it would be because God had reserved us for a more terrible retribution than fell upon the accursed cities of the plain.

For the National Era.

NOCTES DIVINORUM.

BY WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER.

The sky is black: the earth is cold:
The laboring moon gives little light:
Wild gusts in ghostly tones unfold
The secrets of the deep, dread night.
And glimmering stars around me, glide
Weird fancies of the midnight horn,
Close-linked with shadowy sprites that ride
The dusky hours of eve and morn.

Gaunt images, that haunt the sight,
Of sin and crime, and want and wo,
Have been my guests for hours to-night,
And still are passing to and fro.
Ah, wels-a-ay! and so they may!
They do not tell the lie of life:
Night oft is truer than the day;
Peace often falser far than strife.

A year goes out: a year comes in:
How swiftly and how still they flee!
What mission had the year that's been?
What mission hath the year to be?
Oh, brother man! look wisely back,
Along the far and fading days,
And closely scan the crowded track
On which the light of memory plays.

The friend with whom you took your wine
A year ago—where is he now?
The child you almost thought divine,
Such beauty rohed its shining brow—
The wife upon whose pillowing breast
Misleading doubts and carking care
Were ever gently lull'd to rest—
Where are they now, my brother—where?

In vain you start, and look around!
In, vain the lavolntary call!
The grave-yard has an added mound
For wife, or child, or friend—or all.
And downward to the dust with them,
How many garnered hopes have gone!
Yet they were but as chaff to stem
The tide of time with, pressing on.

Ah, hope is such a flattering cheat,
We scarce can choose but him believe!
We see and feel his bold deceit,
Yet trust him still, to still deceive.
Despair is truer far than he!
Though dark and pitiless its form,
It never bids us look! and see
The sunshine, when it brings the storm.

Yon shivering wretch yo see, a year
Ago asked alms, the which I gave.
She said the world was dark, and drear,
And cold, yet kindlier than the grave.
She hoped another year would bring
Joys, comforts, friends, not then possess'd:
And it *has* brought yon feeble thing
That tugs so at her shrunken breast.

"Oh, God!" she mutters: "In my dream
Last night the wild waves o'er me swept:—
To-day I stood beside the stream,
But dared not—well and I had leapt!
But in its sleep my baby smiled.
I kissed it—shuddered—backward drew.
I loved my child—my brain was wild—
From death to life I turn'd and flew.

"Why ended not our sorrows thon?
Why sleep we not beneath the wave?
Forgot of God, despised of man,
That were methinks a fitting grave! . . . . .
A-ha! a-ha! The night is cold!
Night and my babe—look here—are one!
Ye cannot warm this stiffened form
With all your skill: 'tis done! 'tis done!

"The night is cold—the night is dark—
And I am sister to the night.
I'm cold and dark—dark as the dark!
And look and see!—a sound! a sight!
'Tis well! 'tis well!—ye hear the knell
Of the old year from you high tower:
But not for ye is the year to sing.
Ha! ha! he burns in hell this hour!"

The wind is wild that howls without;
The fire is warm that burns within;
But wilder than the wind without,
And warmer than the fire within,
Are breast and brain that throb with pain
Where dwells the poor young wretch is borno:
But ere the day she'll pass away.
With few to watch, and none to mourn.

Oh, hitter night! oh, cruel wind,
That piercest hovels through and through!
The festive hand ye rarely find—
The poor are always found by you.
Show mercy not where most is sin
In thinnest garb: for doubly bold
Temptation is to enter in
Whore hunger gnaws, and limbs are cold.

The eve is gone: night's noon is here:
Again in yon high turret swings
Time's iron tongue, that tells the year
Is closing over earthly things.
"Farewell! old year: I have no tear
To drop above your icy tomb:
Ye brought to me much misery,
And leave me now in deepest gloom.

"Farewell! old year: yet by your bier
I linger, if I will or no:
For sorrow made us link as friends
Those who had hardly else been so.
How often back, along the track
Which you and I have wearily traced,
My bleeding heart will sadly start
To view again that desert waste!

"A-ha! old year: you've brought the tear,
In spite of all I thought you said:
I did not know one still could flow,
So many you have made me shed.
You're still and stark: you're gone!"... 'Tis dark,
Here where I sit and sigh alone.
But wipe the eyes and check the sigh:
What's he, who hath not sorrow known!

Despair may truer be than hope;
But hope is mightier far than he!
As rounding up yon starless cope
Even now to-morrow's sun I see.
So hope brings day before 'tis day,
And sometimes, we would add, true:
Or thought, that shall be felt for aye,
And help us in our sorest need.

Yet, truer than despair!—
What says the iron tongue of time
From yon old turret, high in air,
Pealing the centuries' march sublime?
"GOD GIVES TO EVERY MAN HIS DAY,
WITH HOPE, HIS FRIEND!"—Bereavèd one,
Unclond the brow, dry up the tear,
Joy cometh with the morrow's sun!

HOW THEY MANAGE.

Last Monday, Mr. Carter moved a suspension of the rules for the purpose of introducing a resolution "to appoint a committee of five members to wait upon Louis Kossuth, and to introduce him to the House of Representatives"—the resolution which had constituted the subject of debate during the preceding week. The motion prevailed, and the resolution was adopted under the operation of the previous question, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-three to fifty-four. Of the fifty-four negatives, forty-six were from the slaveholding States.

This is one fact, and here is another.

A few days since, a paper was circulated among members of Congress, proposing a banquet to Kossuth. The signers, members of Congress, met one day last week, and appointed a general committee to make the necessary preparations. The general committee held a meeting and appointed the following committee, consisting, generally as will be seen, of members from the slaveholding States, though the principal opposition to Kossuth has emanated from these States.

At a meeting of the general committee of members of the Senate and House of Representatives, who unite in the entertainment to be given to Governor Kossuth, held in the Speaker's room, on Friday, the 2d instant, the following committees were appointed:

Committee of Arrangements.—Hon. George Briggs, of New York; Hon. George W. Jones, of Iowa; Hon. R. H. Stanton, of Kentucky; Hon. James C. Jones, of Tennessee; Hon. Gilchrist Porter, of Missouri.

Committee of Invitation.—Hon. Thomas L. Clingman, of North Carolina; Hon. Thomas B. Florence, of Pennsylvania; Hon. J. W. Bradbury, of Maine.

Committee on Ceremonies.—Hon. F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee; Hon. A. P. Butler, of South Carolina; Hon. James Walsh, of Maryland.

The dinner will be given at the National Hotel, on Wednesday, the 7th instant, at 6 o'clock, P. M.

The subscribers and other members of the Senate and House of Representatives may procure tickets at the offices of the Sergeant-at-Arms of the respective Houses.

C. M. M. GWIN, *Chairman.*
R. H. STANTON, *Secretary.*

The Committee on Ceremonies is made up exclusively of slaveholders, and the Committee of Arrangements is controlled by them. This is in accordance with the usual tactics of our Southern friends. Their first effort is, to prevent a liberal movement; and, failing in this, their next effort is to secure the control and guidance of it. The first place they always assume, as a matter of right divine; and our friends from the free States seem to think it belongs to them.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE.

A NEW PHASE OF SECTIONALISM.

The proceedings of the House, last week, on the resolution proposing the appointment of a Committee to wait upon Governor Kossuth, and invite him to a seat within the bar of that body, will attract the attention of the country.

In accordance with official instructions, our minister at Constantinople had interposed his influence to secure the release of Kossuth. Under a resolution adopted by the last Congress, the Chief Executive had despatched a national vessel, to bring him to our shores. On his arrival, the President, in his annual message, referring to the subject, submitted to Congress the question of his reception. Both Houses, after some consideration, passed a resolution, extending him a cordial welcome, and this was communicated to Kossuth by the President, through a special messenger, who also invited him officially to visit the Capital. The Senate, by way of completing its act of courtesy, appointed a Committee to wait upon him on his arrival, and invite him to a seat in its hall. The majority of the House of Representatives, desirous of harmonizing with the Senate and Executive in their civilities, attempted to pass a similar resolution; but a meager minority, taking advantage of the complex system of rules by which the proceedings of the House can at any time be embarrassed, baffled this laudable design.

Kossuth arrived in Washington Tuesday, December 30th, and on the same day Mr. Carter moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, for the purpose of taking up a resolution to appoint a Committee of five to introduce Governor Kossuth to the floor of the House. Those who voted for this motion were in favor of the resolution, with the exception of L. D. Campbell, of Ohio, who would support it with an amendment. Those who were against this motion were against the resolution. An analysis of the vote, therefore, will show the character of the opposition to Kossuth, and the quarter whence it emanated. The yeas and nays on the motion were as follows: [Published on our first page.]

The first of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, is not recorded, owing, presumably, to absence at the moment the vote was taken. He was a violent opponent of the resolution of Mr. Carter.

The great majority of the affirmative vote is from free States, without distinction of party; to the honor of Free-Soilers, be it said, not one of their names appears in the negative. Those who voted in the negative—that is, any movement of courtesy towards Kossuth—we shall classify according to States and parties, as follows: [Published on our first page.]

Whigs from the Free States—Messrs. Barrere, Taylor, and Harper, of Ohio; Goodenow, of Maine; Haven, of New York; Hebard, of Vermont—6.

Democrats from the Free States—Messrs. Clark and Henn, of Iowa; and Fitch, of Indiana—3.

Whigs from the Slave States—Messrs. Abercrombie, of Alabama; Cabell, of Florida; Caldwell, Dockery, Morehead, and Stanly, of North Carolina; Cullum, Watkins, and Williams, of Tennessee; Ewing, and Marshall, of Kentucky—11.

Democrats from the Slave States—Messrs. Aiken, Orr, Wallace, South Carolina; Ashe, and Venable, North Carolina; Averett, Bayly, Bocock, Edmundson, McMullen, Millson, Powell, Virginia; Bragg, Cobb, Smith, Alabama; Brown, Mississippi; Churchwell, Harris, S. W. Harris, Johnson, Jones, Savage, Tennessee; Hall, Missouri; Hamilton, Maryland; Hillyer, Johnson, Jackson, Murphy, Georgia; Martin, Louisiana; Sourry, Texas—30.

Total from Free States - - -	9
Ditto Slave States - - -	41

Awarding all praise to Messrs. Clingman, Stanton, Gentry, and the few members from the Slave States who so far emancipated themselves from local prejudices as to favor a resolution intended to honor an illustrious champion of Freedom, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the character of the opposition is *almost purely sectional.* Iowa, as usual, votes as a unit with the Slaveholders. Mr. Taylor, we believe, is a native of Virginia, and his position is precisely what might have been anticipated. Mr. Brooks, of New York, who made a wanton, unmanly, and unmanerly assault on Joshua R. Giddings, because he favored the resolution, though that gentleman had not consumed one minute of the House in advocating it, and who recklessly undertook to connect the question with the subject of Slavery, appeared in his true character—an apostate from the cause of Freedom.

Mr. Haven, from New York, was formerly the law partner of Mr. Fillmore. Mr. Hebard, who, in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, called out aloud to the minority not to vote, in several instances, so as to prevent a quorum, and embarrass proceedings factiously, by unnecessary calling of the roll, is a zealous supporter of the Administration.

If we mistake not, Mr. Barrere, who occupies the place, filled in the last Congress far more creditably by Mr. Morris, a true-hearted Democrat, was elected by the aid of Free Soil votes. Our friends will remember him next time. As to the rest of the gentlemen from the North, found fighting by the side of the Slave Power, they occupy a position which will require troublesome explanation.

For, there can be no longer any doubt, that the Slave Interest is at the bottom of this opposition to Kossuth; the votes and the tactics adopted demonstrate this. The corpulency of the resolution generally urged that its adoption would imply some approbation of the Intervention Policy advocated by Governor Kossuth. A calm spectator could see nothing of this in the resolve. Kossuth is recognised as the most distinguished representative of the republican masses in Europe. His services and sacrifices in the cause of Freedom and of National Independence, signalize him as worthy of peculiar and eminent honors. As a nation, by the intercession of our Minister for his release from captivity, by our sending a National vessel to bring him to our shores, through the Presidential reference to him, the joint resolution of both houses of Congress cordially welcoming him, and the additional resolve of the Senate, to invite him into their hall, we have said all this.

Every one of these acts has been an extraordinary tribute to extraordinary patriotism and extraordinary championship of the cause of Human Freedom. The resolution before the House was intended as such a tribute—its language could be construed to mean nothing else. Its supporters, without an exception, denied that it meant anything more. And yet this proposed honor, which, though extraordinary, was nothing but an honor, amply deserved, was resisted by precisely such a faction and such factious proceedings as arrested the action of the majority of the last Congress on the California Question. The same Slave Interest which opposed the admission of a new Free State, opposed the attempt to confer signal honor upon Kossuth—and the opposition in the latter case was as bitter, as unrelenting, as as utterly regardless of the decorum and order of the House of Representatives, as in the former. Here, then, is a spectacle for the American People—the Slave Interest sympathising with Austria and Russia, the infamous Despotisms now organizing a crusade against all Popular Governments, and arraying itself against Kossuth, the man above all other men, feared and hated by them as the greatest impersonation of popular freedom in Europe!

What is the philosophy of this repulsive attitude which Slavery has chosen to assume? In the first place, kindred Principles affiliate. Slavery and Despotism, as we showed a few weeks since, are identical in Principle, generate similar sentiments and habits, are advocated by similar arguments, protected by similar agencies. Why should an advocate of American Slavery, *per se*, lift his hand against European Despotism, feel sympathy with the wrongs of the massee trodden under its heel, or a disposition to honor their champion? We know that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

Again: Among Kossuth's measures in Hungary that drew down upon him the vengeance of Austria, was the emancipation of the serfs, their investiture with political rights, the grant to them of the fee simple of a portion of the lands on which they resided. Is there anything in these measures to propitiate the good will of Slavery?

Besides, the Principles which Kossuth proclaims among us are fundamental. With earnestness, thoroughness, and eloquence unsurpassed, he preaches in the ears of the American People the solemn Truths of the Declaration of Independence; and the feelings aroused in the great heart of the Public are certainly not propitious to the demands of Slavery. We cannot believe that a rapt auditor of the Hungarian crator could go away from one of his Banquets, and, with the sound of Liberty rang out in the clarion tones of the Hungarian fugitive still thrilling his heart, peace and drag back to slavery an innocent fugitive from American oppression. A resurrection of the spirit and principles of Seventy-Six is deprecated by slavery as fatal to its usurpations, incompatible with its existence.

Again: It sees the friends of Liberty in this country, generally, on the side of Kossuth—foremost to welcome and sustain him. This is gall and wormwood to a Power which seeks, by every device of an infernal ingenuity, to degrade, proscribe, destroy its opponents; and it regards with jealousy, if not hatred, the man who cheerfully accepts their friendly demonstrations, and is deemed by such as they deserving of remarkable honor.

No matter how wise, how respectful, how frank the policy of Kossuth—no matter how studiously, being the guest of the United States, he avoids everything calculated to wound the pride or prejudice of any State or Section—no matter how carefully he abstains from the slightest intermeddling with any domestic question or controversy—no matter how often he affirms the great Principle that every nation has a right to determine for itself, without foreign interference, its own institutions and dispose of its own concerns—no matter with what downright honesty and unyielding consistency he illustrates in his whole career among us this vital Principle—still, his simple position as the Embodiment of the Truths contained in our Declaration of Independence, his application of them in his own country, the kind of enthusiasm aroused by the marvellous eloquence with which he presents and enforces them, and the high appreciation of his Principles and acts manifested by Anti-Slavery men, make him an unwelcome guest to the Slave Power. His very presence rebukes it.

Finally: Mr. Calhoun was right, in a certain sense, when he said that Slavery was the Conservative element of this Union. It is certainly the enemy of all radical reform, of all real progress, of all movements tending towards the enlightenment and elevation of the masses. Popular Education, Cheap Postage, Land Reform, have always encountered in it their deadliest foe. Slavery is a Conservative—it conserves corruption. It is now found clinging spasmodically to the old, exploded, Cain-like policy of Absolute Neutrality. Its cant about Washington's Address, when it sought to wrest from Mexico new fields for slave labor, when it warned the South American Republics against carrying the war they waged for independence into Cuba, and when, through one of the leading presses here, it proclaimed it as the duty of the United States to interfere, with all their military and naval power, to resist the emancipation of slaves in that island. Intervention against Intervention was then all right; and it was right, too, when Mr. Monroe announced to the world the determination of the United States to resist trans-Atlantic interference in the affairs of this Continent. Slavery was anxious to secure for its aggressive policy in this hemisphere complete immunity—exemption from all disturbance. But when, in the greatness of our strength, in accordance with our rank as a leading Power in Christendom, it is proposed that we shall throw the weight of our influence on the side of Justice and Freedom in Europe, that is a different question. Such Intervention promises no benefit to Slavery, but may indirectly react against it. What part could American Slavery take in the World's Battle for Liberty? Could Wrong struggle for Right? Could Injustice raise a fratricidal hand against Injustice? Every successful blow for Freedom in Europe would make American Slavery reel, and the last gasp of Oppression there would be the signal of its doom here.

The opponents of the resolution before the House, though it contained no recognition of the Principle of Intervention against Intervention, feared that its adoption might, in some way, give it countenance. It would at least be a distinguished tribute of honor to the Man pre-eminently identified with the Principle.

We have thus shown the nature of the opposition to Kossuth and his mission. The American People will understand it. Whether Slavery will gain anything by an alliance with European Despotism, is not a doubtful question. The Democracy of the North will shrink from that entangling alliance. Its instinct is for Freedom and Progress; but it must soon decide between the Law of Progress and the Law of Regress. It cannot serve two masters. Let it choose this day which it will serve—Slavery or Liberty.

WAR-SONG OF THE MAGYARS.

BY GRACE GREENWOOD.

A battle-shout for Hungary
Once more shall wake the day—
A joyful summons to the brave
To rally for the fray,
To gird her round, and with their swords
Make lightning on her way!

The shout that each brave Magyar heart
With war's fierce rapture fills
The shout that in the traitor's veins
The coward-current chills,
Let it ring up from the valleys
And roll along the hills.

Let it sound amid the mountain-land,
That mighty gathering cry,
Go up from steep, and crag, and cliff,
Clear, terrible, and high,
Till the vultures and the eagles
Scream back their hoarse reply!

Like the mingling of all fearful sounds
Of vengeance and of woe,
Like the rush of fire, the roar of floods
When winter tempests blow,
Like the thunder of the avalanche,
Let it sweep against the foe!

God of the nations! Thou did'st hear
Poor Hungary's patient prayer,
From the prison of her anguish,
And the night of her despair,
When the groanings of her spirit
Were burdening all the air.

Thou did'st flash upon her darkness
A great and holy light—
Did'st break her chains, and lead her forth,
And gird her for the fight,
With the weapons of thine anger,
And the armor of thy might.

Once more be thy victorious strength
On mortal hearts outpoured,
Take then the blood-guilt from our strife,
And sanctify the sword
That strikes for freedom! For the right,
Make bare thine arm, Oh Lord!

Bless thou our banners, till their folds
On freedom's ramparts wave,
And shadn the patriot's holy rest—
Oh strengthen, guide, and save
Our PROPHET-HERO to the end.
God of the struggling brave!

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE.

Whether California should be admitted as a free State, and the Territories organized with constitutions excluding Slavery, was the great Question which the last Congress was called upon to decide. The Northern Democrats generally took the affirmative, were pledged to sustain by every legitimate effort the affirmative, with a few exceptions went into caucus and bound themselves to support as a candidate for the Speakership a Southern Democrat, who took the negative, and was pledged to sustain it! They thus placed the organization of the House in the hands of their opponents, giving them the power to prevent the admission of California and the passage of the Wilmot Proviso.

In this Congress they knew that the Question of Slavery would again be agitated, and that important questions would come up on which their opinions would differ from those of their Southern associates. They had the majority, went into caucus, and agreed to the nomination for the Speakership of a Southern man, who they knew would be opposed to them on every question touching Human Liberty! All they obtained in exchange for this surrender of power was, the laying upon the table of certain resolutions respecting the Compromise.

Well, the first act of the Speaker was to organize the most important Standing Committees in such a way as to place the control of the business of the House in the hands of the Slaveholding members; and whenever the House goes into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, where important measures have to be discussed and matured for action, his policy in all cases where there is likely to be any sectional conflict is to call to the chair precisely the man who, by his familiarity with parliamentary tactics and his devotion to Slaveholding interests, will be able to give to Slavery a controlling influence. For example, the opposition to Kossuth assuming a Southern aspect, the Speaker, when the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, where important measures were to be discussed and matured for action, his policy in all cases where there is likely to be any sectional conflict is to call to the chair precisely the man who, by his familiarity with parliamentary tactics and his devotion to Slaveholding interests, will be able to give to Slavery a controlling influence. For example, the opposition to Kossuth assuming a Southern aspect, the Speaker, when the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, called to the chair George W. Jones, of Tennessee, who could be relied on for interposing all possible embarrassments in the way of its passage; and more vexatious, unprecedented, disorderly decisions than he made, a deliberative body was never called upon to overrule. Even Faction itself in some cases, could not rally its forces to sustain him.

Will the Democrats, will the members representing the Non-Slaveholding States, never learn wisdom, never be able to stand erect and assert their just claims? Will the Majority always suffer the minority to dictate who shall be Speaker, how the Standing Committees shall be composed, what business shall be brought forward, who shall preside when the House is in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—in a word, concede to the minority the entire power lodged in the organization of the House? It puts the bit in its own mouth, saddles itself, mounts the rider, fastens on his spurs, puts the reins in his hands, and then begins to fret and fume because he reins it up, or buries his rowels in its sides, just to make it serve his own purposes. What right has it to complain? Its entire position is of its own choosing. Balaam's ass complained of being smitten, but what else could that respectable quadruped expect, so long as he permitted Balaam to ride him?

THE POSITION OF THE FREE SOIL MEN.

The Free Soil members of Congress are uniformly found on the side of liberal movements. It could not be otherwise. The central Principle of their creed is, *Human Rights.* Whatever looks to their recognition, protection, or enjoyment, they are pledged to sustain—whatever tends to disparage, restrict, or endanger them, they oppose. The cordial welcome they have given to Kossuth need surprise nobody. He has done service to Human Rights. And they honor him for it—he is pledged and marvellously qualified to do still greater service, and therefore they sustain him.

Their conduct is the legitimate consequence of their Principles, not the result of selfish calculation. They have not sought to commit him upon the question of American Slavery, to enlist him as a partisan in their great controversy. This is not his mission. Every true man has his vocation. The field of labor for human improvement is boundless. One man cannot do all that must be done. Labor in this field is divided—and whoever wisely cultivates one portion, should be hailed as a fellow-laborer by him who cultivates another. All their works, though in different places, in different forms, converge to the same point, never lost sight of by the Great Overseer—the regeneration of the whole human race.

Mr. Giddings, in the course of the discussion last week on the Kossuth resolution which, it was known, he intended to vote for, though he had said not a word concerning it, was repeatedly assailed, with a view to provoke him to such a presentation of his views on the subject of Slavery, as would throw odium on the resolution. Messrs. Brooks and Stanly both tried their hand at this game. Opposed, as they profess to be, to the agitation of the Slavery Question, they dragged this question into discussion for the sake of making an issue with Mr. Giddings, who, they hoped, would accept the issue, and place his support of the resolution honoring Kossuth, on abolition grounds. How completely they were foiled, our readers will see by referring to our Congressional report.

The speech of the venerable member detected and exposed their design. He replied with fairness in dignified language, reminded them that the House and the country understood well enough his readiness to proclaim and defend his views on the Slavery Question on all suitable occasions, but that he was for doing things in the right way and at the right time. He wished to vote for the resolution before the House, for the purpose of extending courtesy to the nation's guest, of doing honor to a man who was the eminent representative of European Republicanism. This disposed of, he would take care, in due season, to enter the lists with those gentlemen on the question of Slavery, if they were so disposed, and they would then have an opportunity of hearing him at large.

Mr. Giddings and the rest of the Free Soil members harmonize in this frank, reasonable, and manly course. They are no skulkers—no dodgers—no masked fighters—no men of one idea. They are advocates of order—they intend to do things in order—to do one thing at a time—to try and decide every question upon its merits. They would make no covert assaults upon Slavery—they would act openly and above board. They are nothing formidable enough in their great enemy, to drive them to innuendo or indirection—nor are they weak enough to be tricked by their opponents into untimely discussion or premature movements.

THE DELIVERANCE OF HUNGARY.

Now that Kossuth is here, after all the perils through which he has passed, and the subject of Hungary is freely canvassed by all classes of our people, the question is pertinent, What chance will Hungary have against her enemies in another struggle? Mr. Charles L. Brace, who was lately a prisoner in Austria, and who has travelled extensively in Hungary, thus sums up, in a letter to the *Tribune*, the causes of failure in the late revolution, and the hope of success in a future struggle. We commend his observations to attention:

"The jealousies of Croat toward Magyar, the antipathy of Sclavonian for Hungarian, and of both to all, are well known, and, exceedingly checked and hamfered all the operations of the defending army. There were forces enough wasted in the guerilla warfare with the Croats and Raizen, which, if well received and stimulated by the agents of Government in a more singular manner against the Hungarian Ministry, to have held the whole army of the Russians at bay. There was no great danger, to be sure, even from these sources of evil, to compare fear of them kept large bodies of soldiers always posted in that part of Hungary; and these petty conflicts exhausted the resources of the richest district in Hungary. The war-cry in Seibenbürgen—the only part of Hungary, perhaps, where there was any peasant-war—the Wallach peasants had been exceedingly excited by the priests and officers of Government against their old Protestant landlords. Though Bem's campaign in this province was perhaps the most glorious in the war, it would have been more successful, could all the Wallach peasants had been with him. They hung upon his march, and in various ways exceedingly hampered his more important movements.

"If the war had been popular, it had been more completely in harmony, and if the peasants had been everywhere favorable to the cause, a much better plan, too, of the campaign might have been formed. The Hungarians could have made their base the mountains of Siebenbürgen, and the marshy, difficult country near the Lower Danube, where they could have fought every step of ground, even as the Spaniards did through their mountains against Napoleon.

"A few months' delay, too, would have served them, as to the organization of all existing forces. In the *Theiss fevers*, as they call them, which come on usually in September and October—and are a terrible scourge on the low lands to strangers.

"As it was, with foes on every side, they were forced to make their

in Hungary, that at any revolt, promising a fair measure very class and nationality of the land would rise, as one man."

Other considerations confirm him in this opinion—the number of young, able-bodied men in the villages—the fact asserted by Hungarians, that 300,000 men could be raised in a few days to fight for Hungary—that over 100,000 Honveds, tried Hungarian soldiers, distributed through the Austrian armies, would be ready to revolt in a war for independence; and the wonderful attachment which each Hungarian feels for his country—an illustration of which feeling runs through the address of Kossuth. Again:

"Let no one expect anything for Hungary from *conspiracies*. The character of the people is too open and honorable for such movements. They never could keep, a secret in the most dangerous political times of their history, and the Austrians would outwit them at once in any secret intrigues.

"The plan which Austria has to fear, is from one of those sudden outbursts of passion, which no Government can anticipate or control. They will good on the gallant nation until it turns upon them, almost in the fury of madness.

"The world has witnessed many terribls struggles for freedom or revenge, but none which history has recorded will be like that when Hungary rises once more to be free. A nation of strong men, embittered and maddened by years of insult, and oppression, and and disgraceful peace, will be fighting in despair. There will be no hope and no escape—mercy will not be thought of. I know the people, and I am sure that there is hardly a man on the Hungarian plain, from the nobleman in the village to the lowest peasant of the prairie, who will not grasp scythe or sword for this last contest. It will be the final effort—the last struggle of a nation for life.

"In the event of any such outbreak, nothing is to be feared from the Austrian soldiers *within* the country. They are few in number compared with the multitudes around them, and, except in Transylvania and that neighborhood, quite as disaffected, often, as the people themselves.

"The two great difficulties will be, first, *in the event of war*, and secondly, *in the interference of the Russians*. If it were not for these two dangers, there could hardly be a doubt of the result. If Hungary could receive foreign assistance, either from France or England, there would be little trouble from the want of arms. A small squadron landed at Fiume could supply the whole people with arms in an incredibly short space of time. A war with a year or two of opportunity they would manufacture all which would be hereafter required, as was the case in 1848 and 1849.

"For the intervention of Russia, nothing would be of use except the direct interference of England; and even that might be found of no avail. But careful men are of opinion, that if Austria were to be crushed on any other side, as for instance, by Democratic insurrections in Italy, Hungary could defend herself, even now, against them both. With the Nation with her, and Europe without treachery in her councils, and under the tremendous energy of despair, what might not be accomplished?"

ANOTHER BID FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

The Presidential aspirants from Pennsylvania are indefatigable, about these days, in showing their devotion to the Union. Hon. RICHARD RUSH, former Minister to England, is the last one on the carpet. The Democrats of East Smithfield, Bradford county, held a mass meeting on the 8th of October, to which meeting Mr. Rush was invited. He embraced the occasion to define his position. His letter is dated 23d of September, and was probably intended as a swell for Bigler's majority in that region; but, as the views expressed do not coincide with those of the sturdy Democracy of Bradford, its publication was prudently withheld until after the election. It was not published until the first of the present month. We select a few gems from this production of the retired statesman of "Sydenham, near Philadelphia." He says:

"She [Pennsylvania] ought to rally around the Fugitive Slave law as the spirit evinced at the vast Union meeting in Philadelphia, in November last, when whole thousands of our Whig friends, though political opponents, enthusiastically cheered, with the deep emotions of patriots and a wisdom above all party, the resolution for its full and hearty execution—not in its words only, but in its great import and transcendent national objects."

"That is, the call to the preservation of the Federal Constitution than any of the laws of Congress, or all of them put together, because through that, produced the insurrections I have mentioned. This is my sincere belief."

* * * * * *

"I can discern no mode that would give such hope of stopping this spirit of murder and treason within the Union, as to choose Col. Bigler Governor in October. He, if elected, would not only do his best to execute the Fugitive Slave Law as it is, but to reconcile our people to it as far as wisdom above all party, that is the great want. It would reach the root of the evil. Nothing else will. To talk of amending or altering this law, under our present circumstances, seems to me in the highest degree improper. It ought not to be dreamed of. To attempt it would be to agitate anew the Slavery question; and this would be near akin to breaking up the Union. For the law should stand, and stand as it is, if we wish the Union to stand."

Mr. Rush is evidently not the man for the hour. He is timid, fearful, trembling. He does not counsel support of the Fugitive Slave Law because it is proper, just, and right; but, "the eyes of the South" are upon Pennsylvania, and he fears the consequences unless she approves it. Like the wicked mentioned in Scripture, he exhibits a disposition to "flee when no man pursueth." When shall the statesman rise in Pennsylvania who shall occupy the position taken by President Jackson, "to ask nothing that is not clearly *right*, and will submit to nothing that is wrong?" When Pennsylvania presents such a candidate, she may entertain some hope of furnishing a President, but not before.

It is a well-known fact that the Democracy of Bradford supported Col. Bigler on the ground taken by Mr. Wilmot, previous to the election, which was this: that the gubernatorial election being a State election, National issues should be held in abeyance—they would support Col. Bigler, but did not wish to be considered as approving of the Compromise measures of the last Congress. It is not to be assumed that the Democracy of Bradford approve the Fugitive Slave Law. They do not.

*

ARRIVAL OF THE AFRICA.

The steamer Africa arrived at New York on the 2d instant, bringing Liverpool dates to the 20th ult.

The President of France had distributed an immense number of crosses of the Legion of Honor, and had ordered a large sum of money to the disabled soldiers.

General Cavaignac had been liberated, but refused to accept his release, unless the same favor was extended to his fellow-prisoners.

An ale-de-camp had arrived from the Czar of Russia, to congratulate Louis Napoleon upon the success of his *coup d'etat*.

The French army in Algeria are said to be opposed to the President.

Spain.—The *Madrid Gazette* contains an important document from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to Mr. Webster's note on the Cuban affair, in the presence of the highest satisfaction at its tone, because it is considered an act of justice which satisfies Spain as much as it exalts the Government of the United States, of which her Majesty's Government never ceased to expect that it would disapprove such painful events, and that the legality of its conduct upon this occasion would offer new guarantees and greater securities for the maintenance of the friendly relations which, with reciprocal advantage, have constantly existed between the two Governments. This *Gazette* concludes by announcing the pardon of all the prisoners connected with the late Cuban expedition who may be citizens of the United States, whether in Spain, fulfilling their sentences, or still in Cuba.

Austria.—Kossuth's sister, and several Hungarian nobles, who had been made prisoners by the Croats, have had arrived at Vienna in a special train, on the 10th of December.

It was reported in diplomatic circles, that Austria was about to take a position hostile to England.

Italy.—Some alarm was felt at the Vatican, on account of recent events in France, lest the French army should be withdrawn from Rome.

Seventy-six non-commissioned officers had been expelled from the army, by order of the Pope.

Prussia.—The Frankfort Diet, it is said, has resolved, at the instigation of Austria, to address a diplomatic note to the English Government, requesting the surrender of political refugees residing in England.

LITERARY NOTICES.

YOUNG AMERICANS ABROAD; OR, VACATIONS IN EUROPE. Travels in England, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland; with illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This very agreeable volume is a collection of letters, written by three intelligent lads, while on a visit to the Old World, with their tutor, during the spring and summer of the past year. We cordially recommend it to the young of our country.

A LADY'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD. A selected translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer, by Mrs. Percy Linnett. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

A simple announcement of a good translation from the original book of travels by this brave and distinguished woman, will, we are assured, be quite sufficient for our readers.

THE TUTOR'S WARD. A Novel. By the Author of "Wayfaring Sketches." "Use and Abuse." New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale as above.

We can only say, from the little we have been able to read of this work, that it promises to be a pleasing and interesting story.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER AND RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY. January, 1852. Boston: Crosby & Nichols.

An admirable number of this admirable publication.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

This number contains several excellent papers.

A LEGEND OF THE WILDENESS, AND OTHER TALES. By Mary J. Wylde. Philadelphia: J. W. Moore. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

LETTERS ON THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE IN THE UNITED STATES. By a Southern Lady.

We are sorry that neither the literary character nor the moral tone of this pamphlet entitle it to a favorable word from us. We wish the zealous authoress a better cause, but we do not wish her cause a better advocate. The truth has nothing to fear from such renoaners.

A REVIEW OF DR. LORD'S SERMON IN SUPPORT OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.

This is an able and logical argument, enforced in the true spirit of American freedom and of that higher liberty "wherewith Christ hath made us free." It is a fearless yet dignified rebuke of the time-serving Lower Law divines of the day.

G. G.

TICKNOR'S LATE PUBLICATIONS.

First among these for no remark upon, because from the pen of the author of "Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys," by Hawthorne. This is the sweetest, deepest, wisest, most peculiar and delicious book ever written for children. It is not a book which is thought in the author to go back into the morning of the world—the young days of music and poetry, and all ideal loveliness, for those deep moral and poetic teachings best fitted for the pure mind of a child. From the wildest extravagance of those stories myth the author brings out the holy, primeval, religious spirit; and yet more abundantly calls it forth from those strange, exquisite fables whose highest moral is the truth in all its simple beauty, and only beauty. It is like flinging holy water about with a fragrant spray of summer roses.

There are in this pleasantest of pleasant volumes six charming stories, which it would be almost impossible to select an especial favorite, all are so admirable; but perhaps "The Chimera" is the most happily conceived and exquisitely finished.

A very charming little juvenile is one entitled "Tales from Catland." The style of these pretty fables is deliciously quaint and humorous.

"Florence, the Parish Orphan," is a story by Eliza Buckminster Lee, powerfully and poetically written. The tragic termination is at first too much for the reader to bear, but finally the memory of poor Florence becomes "pleasant, though mournful, to the soul."

Among the republications of Ticknor is a beautiful volume entitled "Spectacles," of the De Courley papers—a most welcome offering to the lovers of Addison and Steele.

Longfellow's "Golden Legend" is on everybody's table, in one of the various forms. Some pages seem lit with the gorgeous lights melting through the stained windows of old cathedrals—on others fall the glare of revels and the flash of wine-cups—on others sleep the pure moon-light which fills a maiden's chamber, and now and then Lucifer flashes out in a lurid line. The character of Elsie, though sketchy and almost aerially delicate, like one of the fine outlines of Flaxman, is better than a finished, elaborated picture by another hand. The sad, sweet episode of Ireningard impressed me vividly, also; but the descriptive passages of the poem, and the rich, mellow, middle-aged tone, must be better appreciated by the scholar and the traveller than by one like me.

"Poems, by Richard Henry Stoddard." This is a fair volume in every respect—a large promise, and no inconsiderable performance. Mr. Stoddard has a true poetic spirit, an exuberant fancy, a passionate love of the beautiful, and a most rare and delicate sense of harmony. That he is a poet more sensuous than spiritual—that his poems more breathe of a dreamy, Oriental voluptuousness than speak the power and depth of genuine, earnest passion—is the impression left on my mind after reading the entire volume. But this comes from the youth of the poet. The larger experiences, the higher joys and deeper sorrows of riper years, will doubtless give to his poetry all it now lacks of strength and expression. The finest, at least the most finished poem in the volume is "The Castle in the Air." It is a complete, melodious, picturesque, and wondrously beautiful poem; but, even better than it, I like "Leonatus." This is full of a simple, touching tenderness. It is less gorgeous than the other, but more real—charming less the senses, but satisfying the heart. The lines "To a Celebrated Singer" are a glorious tribute of genius to genius—a prodigal outpouring of rare and delicious fancies. "The Two Brides," in another style, is sweet and solemn, because so tenderly human. I can but wish that Mr. Stoddard would publish a volume like this and "Leonatus," and leave the gods and goddesses to their old Greek heaven.

I have left myself little space for remarking upon Bayard Taylor's volume of poems. But I am happy in knowing that no word of praise is needed for it. There is much real poetry in the book, and at least three noble, complete poems—"Serapion," "The Two Visions," and "The Waves." Mr. Taylor is a true poet, though his fine physical life sometimes runs into his verse too much—making it too muscular and full-blooded, its movement becoming a regular pedestrian stride. G. G.

For the National Era.

FIRE PICTURES.

BY MISS ALICE CAREY.

In the embers all aglow,
Fancy makes the quaintest pain,
As I listen to the snow
Beating chill against the pane—
The wild December snow
On the lamp-illumined pane.

Bent downward from his prime,
Like the ripe fruit from its hough,
As I muse on rhyme,
I can see my father now,
With the warning flowers of time
Blooming white about his brow.

Sadly flows the willow tree
On the hill so dear, yet dread,
Where the resting-places be,
Of our mother and the dead—
Where the mossy headstones be,
Of my early playmates dead.

But despite the dismal snow,
Blinding all the window o'er,
And the wind, that, crouching low,
Whines against my study door,
In the embers' twilight glow
I can see one picture more.

Down the heechen-shaded hills,
With the morning sunbeams at play,
Run the violet-nursing rills
Through the meadows sweet with hay,
Where the gray-winged plover trills
Of its joy the live-long day—

Seeming almost within call,
'Neath our ancient trysting tree,
Art thou present, source of all
That was ever dear to me?
But the wasted embers fall,
And the night is all I see—

The night with gusts of snow
Blowing wild against the pane,
And the wind that crouches low,
Crying mournfully in vain,
And the dream that come and go
Through my memory-haunted brain.

New York, December 5, 1851.

LETTERS FROM THE CAPITAL.

WASHINGTON, *January 5*, 1852.

The first day of the year was, with us, beautiful beyond compare—an *amende honorable* for the detestable weather we had so long been enduring. All the world was astir; for in Washington the pleasant, social customs of Gotham are observed, and New Year's *Day* is especially gay and agreeable. We saw all our friends, with kindly greetings and lively chattings the hours flew by and bore away their sunlight, and it was night ere we were aware. God grant that the glory of sunshine, the light on the brow of the New Year, may be a sure promise, a prophecy of good cheer for us all.

We visited the House on Friday, to listen to the debate on the Kossuth resolution. This was sufficiently spirited on both sides, but was conducted with most bitterness by the adverse and factional minority. Among this party I was disappointed in Mr. Stanly, of North Carolina, whom I had before supposed too liberal in sentiment and too chivalrous in feeling for such a course of action. But this is a day of wonders, and among the rest of Mr. Stanly, Mr. Clingman, has on this question taken the liberal side. "Saul also among the prophets!" Of all the five-minute speeches which we listened to, opposing the resolution, but two displayed ability, and none exhibited a large and patriotic spirit. They contained the essence of demagogueism in mean appeals to the jealousy, and narrow principles of the party.

P. M.—We have just returned from the Capitol, where we witnessed Kossuth's introduction to the Senate, and heard of the passage of the resolution welcoming him to the House. The great Hungarian was presented by Gen. Shields to the President, and briefly but courteously welcomed by him. The Senate, as a body, did not rise to greet their illustrious visitor. Only two and thirty members paid that silent, dignified and most fitting tribute of respect. The whole affair struck me as too hurried and unceremonious. A Senator near us explained his own want of courtesy in a manner quite satisfactory. He surely intended to rise, he said; but when Kossuth entered, he utterly forgot, in looking at him, his own *rôle* as Senator. Pray Heaven none present had a less honorable excuse for keeping their armchairs in face of their glorious guest.

I heard Kossuth on Saturday in a brief but hearty and modest reply to an address presented by the Ohio delegation. This address boldly and distinctly disclaimed for Ohio the doctrine of neutrality. The paper was altogether manly, and was finely written, and read with evident feeling. But you should have seen Kossuth's face when the pith, the marrow, the heart of it, came on—INTERVENTION! Incredulity and horror changed in him the shadowed eyes and played about his lips—he seemed to hail with a chastened exultation the echo of his own brave and thrilling words. Heaven grant that no man may fulfil her noble pledges, and not mock with a loud but empty promise the too-often betrayed faith of that heroic heart.

Friend from that State—one whose generous and poetic soul fraternizes with all great and beautiful things—thus writes: "What a glorious tremor of liberty the electric eloquence of Kossuth has sent through our land!" Yes; and it shall thrill on and on till the whole moral being of the nation answers to it in the fulness of life and power. His is not that eloquence which appeals to the prejudices, and rouses the passions of the multitude, swaying their will like a tempest, and dazzling their reason with a sudden, intense flame. He speaks "as never man spake," save our Divine Master, to the inmost soul of men—to all that is highest and deepest in their natures. He awakens that pure and primal spirit of humanity—that inmost divinest sympathy binding man to man. From the East—the Orient—mankind?—came the first great prophets and leaders of the world; and it would seem that the oriental richness, the solemn splendor, the Hebrew fervor of Kossuth's genius, are the seal of Heaven on his "high calling" as the Messiah of the Gospel of freedom.

GRACE GREENWOOD.

FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

MAKAWAO MANI, *October* 1, 1851.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: I was deeply and painfully interested in your leading editorial of June 19th, which came to hand a few weeks since. Need I say that we may about as well be prepared to believe anything in the shape of darkness against human body freedom, and in the half of slavery, as not? What a scheme of policy proposed by the leading politicians do you expose in this article! Had the authors of such a proposition the sensorium of humanity, surely they would blush, and abandon their nefarious designs. But they will do no such thing. Instead of this, judging from the past, there is much reason to fear that they will hold on till they succeed. Not only do Southern politicians go all lengths to secure their favorite measures in support of their domestic institutions, but Northern politicians seem ready to sell themselves for office or emolument. Thus, between them, almost any scheme, however hateful, can be carried. I have many fears in regard to California, that some portion of this country, if not the whole of it, will yet be cursed with the influence of slavery. So often have I written on the subject of California, that you are well acquainted with my views. Though I am not personally acquainted with many of the people of that country, I do know a good deal respecting it. We, at the islands, are well nigh in the very atmosphere of California, for several men who made some noise among us at the islands, and some of whom did not a little injury by their example and influence, are now there. Judging from the gross abuse which they would heap upon their fellow-men, and from the lack of sympathy in behalf of this nation exhibited by nearly all who went from us to that land of gold, I could not name any who are more fit for the position, would theject, on *principle*, to the introduction of slavery than these men. Though more than one might object on the ground of expediency. That there are many to be found in that country who oppose slavery on principle, I doubt not. But should there be any such change in the state of things as to seem to require slave labor, I have no idea that anything like a majority of the people of California would oppose the introduction of slavery. I hope I am mistaken, but from what I hear of that country, I fear that there is a great lack of moral principle. This great regulator is sadly wanting. Immense has been the excitement and rage of passion, the frenzy of the mob, the victims of lynch law, of which you may have heard, and which are a burning disgrace to that country. I agree with you that there should be an anti-slavery press set ageing in that country. Do not cease to urge that point. Cannot there be found some thoroughgoing, enterprising young man, who will come over and help us on this side of the Rocky Mountains? I do not suppose that the enterprise would at once be a money-making one. Not unlikely, it would for a while be one which would cause loss sustained in part by the liberality of friends in the United States. And this, in my opinion, could and should be done. The cause demands it. I would have a correspondent editor at Washington, to keep the California editor promptly advised of the state of things there, of the doings of Congress, and of the plotting designs of politicians in different parts of the country. Who will not willingly aid in this good work of diffusing information on the subject of slavery through all California and Oregon, and the Hawaiian group of islands? I say the *Hawaiian* group, and I say so because, among other reasons, I have some fears that not long hence an attempt may be made to introduce *slavery* into this country. We have men now among us who in my opinion would not lift a finger to save this land from the blighting curse of slavery—nay, would assist, if called upon, to fasten the chain upon the neck of the people among them. I hope there are not many, but some there are, and only now and then can one be found who would do anything to save them from this fate worse than death. Last year, a stranger from California came down and staid a week or two at the islands. He represented himself as a New Englander, who had studied law, and spent much time at New Orleans. He came here, as he expected, a Northern man with Southern principles. His ostensible object among us was to purchase a large tract of land at the islands, for a company then at California, and to locate himself. But during his stay at Mr. Torbert's, one of my neighbors on Mani, he intimated to that gentleman that he had been sent hither to reconnoitre the ground, and see if it was not adapted to the growth of slaves—would suit the designs of those who traffic in the blood and bones, the bodies and souls of their fellow-men. Mr. Torbert, a son of old Pennsylvania, and of the Wilmot proviso, gave him a piece of his mind, and sent him back to his employers without a glimpse of hope that the time had come to attempt anything of the kind here. No one can be certain that he was sent down on such an errand, though, ere he left Mani, he delivered a character worthy of a tool for Satan or any of his emissaries. But if the creature had no commission, he quite overacted it was the thought of his own heart that these fair islands would afford a fine field for planting the vile institution of American slavery. I have some faith that he was sent down by others from this vile man or from some others equally destitute of principle, and that efforts will be made to turn this into slave ground. I have no confidence in the Hawaiian men who have no moral principle. Just now we find men among us, of whom we hoped better things, pleading for the erection of distilleries and the importation of ardent spirit, free, or nearly free, of duties. The Lord rebuke men who would thus curse the Hawaiian community. So we have to fight the battles of the Lord against the devil, and use all means we can. I for one, have fears that we may find other foes to contend with. May we have grace to put on the whole armor of God, and contend till the last foe is overcome. We shall receive help

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SPEECH OF DR. ELDER.

When the tenth toast was read by Mr. Dallas, at the Banquet in Philadelphia, on Friday Evening—

"*Arnold and Gorgey*—Traitors, who levied war against honor, their country, and mankind"—

He asked who would reply to that? Dr Elder shouted, "The American People." Loud calls were then made for the eloquent Doctor, and he rose and spoke as follows:

I rise to respond to a toast of those whom we advocate rises to defend. We shall answer to that toast? The American people, if they permit Kossuth to say his last prayer and partake of his last supper, and die unassisted in his struggle for liberty. The American people, standing in the place of Pilate, may wash their hands in innocence, and take their place with Arnold and Gorgey in the page of history.

Sir, we hear the doctrine of neutrality. Who is neutral in the war of the world's interests against its wrongs? Is neutrality in America neutral? Is it for this she has grown, and her power spread? When she made her declaration to the world, it was not an insurrection of colonies in revolt—it was the world's cause; she proclaimed that all men—not merely the American people—were free and equal. We have put the pledge before the world, and we will redeem it.

Intervention! Yes, intervention for the sake of non-intervention. Would this people permit the intervention of any power in Europe or elsewhere in the affairs of the nations of this Continent struggling for liberty, as they certainly they would not. Even the feeblest nations may, under the shadow of our frown, sit secure in their nationality. Shall we fence in that principle by the Pacific and Atlantic? Shall we be indifferent to its obligation where the call is the most imperative? We cannot stand by in the indifference of neutrality, and see the cause of Hungary fall to the earth. When the people of Hungary asserted their right to take their place among the nations of the earth, we rejoiced over them as so much gained to the cause of Republicanism, and believed Hungary was secure. France, with her half hundred revolutions, might pass into some new form of Republicanism, but Hungary had fixed in her principles, her laws, and her leaders, that gave us the assurance that another child was born into the family of nations. [Applause.] In the history of Poland we have learned a memorial lesson; and unless we disavows now, we shall have to go mourning to the funeral of European liberty, buried through our own fault.

No great man and no great nation is neutral. Kossuth himself, with all the prudence with which he has rightfully and manfully escaped entanglement in our domestic disturbances—Kossuth is not neutral in any hour of his life. From my heart I bless him that he has made a great peace between the people of Great Britain and the United States, who are united by a common language, faith, and destiny. If Great Britain and the United States but speak the word, what power on earth will venture within the terrible shadow of their power? [Great applause.] Declare the doctrines which he advocates to be the international law, to be vindicated and enforced by all the power of these people, and the peace society now—while the great peace is already established. [Applause.]

There is not a thing for which I so much honor Kossuth, as the fact that he has thought for and legislated for the poor, and he has made the peasantry of Hungary the basis of national law, to be vindicated and enforced by all the power of these people, and the peace society now—while the great peace is already established. [Applause.]

There is not a thing for which I so much honor Kossuth, as the fact that he has thought for and legislated for the poor, and he has made the peasantry of Hungary the basis of their title is indefensible. [Great applause.] If he may not live to see the desire of his soul satisfied upon Hungary, (though I think he will,) yet he will come with him the blessings of the industrious poor.

Sir, it is impossible—I speak from an impulse in which I cannot be deceived—it is impossible that the sword of Washington will rest in its sheath when the world's battle is to be fought. It may be a mere superstition—but I do not think that the battle of liberty, that was begun in glory by that sword, shall be clothed in victory by the same weapon; and when the hour comes that the last battle of the world is to be fought, shall not those stars and stripes be there? Shall not he who have watched over the cradle of liberty, be in our dotage when it reaches its full manhood?

Let me conclude by giving you a definition—Non-intervention is the duty, the policy, of non-intervention in the Anglo-American language—let it stand translated into these words: "A fair field—Austria and Hungary go at it—Keep off your hands, Russia—let non-intervention be a world's battle on the banks of the Danube."

Dr. Elder closed amid the cheers and congratulations of the company, pursued by a series of arbitrary decrees of the same nature.

The following is the decree:

The President of the Republic, on the proposition of the Minister of the Interior—

Considering that France has need of order, work, and security; that, during too many years, she has been the sport of intelligences and troubled by the machinations of anarchy, as well as by the insurrectional attempts of those who are infiltrated to secret societies, and who constantly ready to become instruments of disorder—

Considering that by their constant habits of revolt against all laws, this class of men not only constitutes a permanent danger to public order, but also authorizes unjust attacks and deplorable calumnies against the sound working population of Paris and Lyons;

Considering that the state of legislation is insufficient, and that it is necessary to modify the same, while reconciling the duties of humanity with the interests of the general security—*have decreed*:

1. Every individual placed under the surveillance of the high police, who shall be found guilty of the offence of rupture of ban, may be transported, as a measure of general security, to a penitentiary colony in Cayenne or Algeria. The term of transportation shall be at the least five years, and at the longest ten.

2. The same punishment shall be applicable to individuals found guilty of having belonged to a secret society.

3. The effect of re-subjection to the surveillance of the high police shall be for the future to give the Government the right of transporting the place in which the condemned person is to reside after having undergone his punishment.

4. All individuals placed under the surveillance of the high police are forbidden to reside at Paris or in the *banlieue*.

The persons designated by the preceding article shall have twenty-four hours to quit Paris and the *banlieue* within the delay of ten days from the promulgation of the present decree, unless they have obtained a permit of residence from the Minister of the Interior. At the end of that delay he will be delivered a passport and ticket of aid, which will lay down their itinerary as far as their native place, or to the place which they designate.

6. In case of contravention of articles 4 and 5 of the present decree, the persons contravening may be transported, as a measure of general security, to a penitentiary colony in Cayenne or Algeria.

7. The individuals transported by virtue of the present decree shall be subjected to work on the penitentiary establishment. They shall be deprived of their civil and political rights. They shall be subject to military jurisdiction; the military laws shall be applicable to them. In case of attempt from the establishment, the transported shall be condemned to imprisonment, the term of which shall not exceed the remaining period for which they have to undergo transportation. They shall be subjected to military discipline, and subordination toward their chiefs and civil or military superintendents, during the period of the imprisonment.

8. Regulations of the Executive power shall determine the organization of these penitentiary colonies.

9. The Ministers of the Interior and of War are charged, each in what concerns him, with the execution of the present decree.

Done at Paris, at the Elysée National, the Council of Ministers having been heard, December 8, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Countersigned by the Minister of the Interior, DE MORNY.

Many of the Representatives have left Paris for the country. Those who remain take care not to pluck down upon their heads the rigor of a Government which seems to stick at nothing. It has been generally resolved to recommend abstention to the voters in the ballot on the 20th inst., as this is regarded as the best means of protesting against its legality. To vote negatively would be to recognise the President's right to put the question.

I understand from a private source, which may be relied on, that Louis Napoleon has sent a menace to all the liberal Representatives to attend the sittings of the Consultative Commission. In no single instance have these invitations, so far as I can learn, been accepted.

On the 9th, M. Thiers received orders to quit France. He was to start next morning for his journey, and in a very chattered state of health, he was escorted out of his house between two agents of the police, placed in a carriage, and conveyed to the frontier in the most expeditious way. Here he was placed in a carriage apart, with his two official attendants, who will not leave him until they have seen him fairly over the French territory, and on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite to Strasburg.

The fifty-one Representatives confined in Mont Valerian have been all liberated, excepting Generals Oudinet and Lauriston, and twelve members of the Mountain. Victor Hugo was safe up to the 10th.

FEELING OF THE TROOPS.

Sunday morning, the 7th, everything seemed tranquil, says a writer in *The London Times*, but the summary proceedings on the two previous days striking terror into not only the few men who might be supposed to be rash enough to brave an army new in Paris, amounting, it is said, to 120,000 men, all devoted to Louis Napoleon, for the Empire or anything else the President might think necessary to the triumph of his policy.

Le Patrie publishes the following votes of the army:

Number of votes - - -	65,289
Votes for Louis Napoleon - - -	61,456
Against - - - - - -	3,749
Abstained - - - - - -	84

The battalion of the 17th regiment of the line, in garrison at Perigweux, has voted for the continuation of the powers of the President of the Republic. Out of 822 soldiers, 801 have voted for, 21 against.

The following is an extract from a private letter, dated Paris, December 8, 1851:

"One of the female servants is married to a non-commissioned officer in one of the regiments of civic troops which are employed more especially in the arrests and executions now going on. We heard by her means precisely in the way engaged with his company the entire day yesterday in making arrests. He does not know how many hundred were lodged by his company in the Rue St. Jacques, but he says they were turned out to the Champs de Mars to-day to shoot a number—reported to be 156—of those condemned by the Court Martial. From the language used by his wife, we infer that the soldiers, at least of that regiment, notwithstanding their enormous extra pay, are thoroughly disgusted with their work. All the usual vociferous epithets is showered on the President, such as *brigand*, *scélerat*, &c.

The most important event of the 9th was the issue of the following decree:

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE: The President of the Republic, on the report of the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship, decreeing the law of April 4–10, 1791; seeing the decree of Feb. 20, 1806; seeing the ordinance of Dec. 12, 1821; seeing the ordinance of Aug. 26, 1830—

Decrees, that the former church of St. Geneviève is restored for the purposes of worship, conformably to the intention of its founder, and to the invocation of Sainte Geneviève, the patron Saint of Paris.

Measures will be eventually taken to establish the regular exercises of public worship in the church, according to the Catholic forms, &c.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.
H. FORTOUL,
Minister of Public Instruction and Worship.

Our readers are aware that this decree refers to the Pantheon. This magnificent building, which, between 1830 and 1848, was considered simply as a splendid monument to the brave men who fell in the Revolution of that year, whose names are inscribed in golden letters upon its walls, was consecrated in 1757 by the order of Louis XV. In 1791, the Constituent Assembly, in the spirit of the Revolution, changed the character and name of the edifice, which it called "Le Panthéon Français." In 1822 it was again restored as a church, and consecrated as such in the name of Sainte Geneviève, by the Archbishop of Paris. But in 1830 it was again restored to its profane use; and now, by a fourth transformation, is once more a church. It is said that Montalembert demanded this last change as a part of the price of his adhesion, and that of his friends, to the coup d'état, to the cause of Louis Napoleon.

STATE OF THE PROVINCES.

It will be very long before any complete and truthful history can be compiled of what has passed in the Departments since the eventful 2d of December. The telegraph wires are annihilated; the telegraph works only under the orders or by the permission of the Government; every country newspaper attempting to convey any unofficial information is instantly seized, and all letters addressed from the Provinces to Representatives and other distinguished persons are either opened or detained at the post-office. By these means the degree the truth oozes out will therefore be readily conceived. Enough, however, is now certain—that in very many parts of France, and more particularly in the south and southern Provinces, the news of the *coup d'etat* was the signal for the open break of civil war, which still rages in several departments, and has been attended with frightful loss of life.

That the risings are everywhere put down we are now informed by the same authority that three or four days ago would have said that it believed that enthusiastic demonstrations of joy were the order of the day in the universal tranquillity of the country. It is also asserted that the resistance has in every instance been with no much distaste in Austria proper, that at this moment it is in arms in Transylvania, in pillage, violation, and murder. It may be so. But the same thing has been said with regard to the resistance in Paris; and yet we all know that the splendid boulevard on the side of the Boulevards, extending for the length of an English mile between the Maison Deree and the Port St. Denis, which many now be seen riddled with the bullets of the soldiery from the ground floor to the fifth story, are not inhabited by persons of that description.

It is, however, clear, not only from the admissions, but from the conduct, of the Government, that a terrible struggle is being established of the most hollow description. Every day a fresh Department is declared to be in a state of siege. Martial law is evidently about to become the condition of France. The news yesterday was, that Bordeaux was so quiet that the state of siege was a superfluous luxury, which would not have been decreed but for some suspicious acts of a civil functionary. In to-day's *Moniteur*, however, it appears that the Prefect of the Gironde, M. Haussmann, availing himself of the state of siege, has declared it necessary to decree that no person shall be allowed to remain stationary in any street; that any assemblage in the street will be considered as an act of aggression, and will be dispersed, without previous notice, by military force; that any individuals bearing arms, whether concealed or otherwise, will be treated with the utmost rigor of martial law; and that any cafe or public house kept open after hours, or used as a resort of agitators, will be shut up.

During Friday and Saturday last, the streets of Bordeaux were repeatedly swept by charges of General d'Autemarre d'Erval, and not a piece once were made. It is mentioned, besides, that other arrests, of persons well known in the political circles in Bordeaux, were vaguely spoken of. Among the names have been Langon higher up the Garonne, where disturbances have broken out.

In the Haute-Vienne a combat took place between one hundred and fifty men, armed with guns, batchets, pitchforks, and scythes, and a body of fifty hussars and six gene d'armes, aided by M. Ruchaud, the cure of Saint Bonnet, at the head of twenty-two armed peasants. The conflict was obstinate. Seven insurgents were severely wounded, and thirty prisoners were made.

Accounts are received of disturbances and threatened incurrections in many parts of France.

THE ARRESTED GENERALS.

Among the favorite subjects of gossip are, of course, the recent arrests of the military leaders. It is profoundly remarked that the characters of these individuals were well illustrated by their various behaviour when informed that they were prisoners. General Bedeau, whose disposition is stated to be of a wily, scheming, and "managing" order, entered into argument and discussion, insisting on considering this matter in a variety of lights, for the improvement of his captor's minds, and finally arrayed himself *en grande tenue*, in order to avail himself of whatever influence his uniform should chance to possess with these he might meet with en his way.

Not so with General Changarnier. As the officials state, he snatched up a brace of pistols, and exclaimed, "*Il faudra se battre*," and quietly replied that he saw such was the case, and that he was well aware that Gen. Changarnier, by discharging his weapons, could kill a couple of those who had come to take him. But, he suggested, this course would scarcely be attended with appreciable advantages, inasmuch as the house was *entouré* by soldiers, so that the General's escape would be impossible; and as, moreover, the ultimate result would assuredly be a prompt trial and a dishonorable execution. These arguments had weight with the hasty but sensible Changarnier, who therupon laid down his pistols and surrendered his person.

Not so, again, with the amiable Cavaignac. That gentle occupation in which he had lately been engaged had probably softened his heroic spirit; and, upon his being aroused from his slumbers and informed that he was arrested, he placidly remarked, "*c'est jouer*," and, rubbing his eyes, requested to be apprized whether he might be permitted to dress himself; adding, in the most courteous manner, that his toilet would not detain him long. Being entreated to make his arrangements precisely in the way most agreeable to himself, he rose, went through the toilet duties with the most perfect composure and completeness, and then, presenting himself with a bow to the officer, politely declared himself, *A vos ordres*.

It is said, I trust, below "the dignity of history" to add, that General Cavaignac forthwith addressed a letter to the Prefect under whom he was so shortly to have espoused, in which he chivalrously declared that he conceived that the event which had occurred had entirely dispensed with the duty he had owed to her bound by engagements made with a free man, and he formally released her from any such ties. If I may state this, I must claim to have to add, that Cavaignac in all who can appreciate high-mindedness, that the young lady promptly and gracefully replied that, so far from considering the event in question as a thing occurring to break off the match, she took so much pride, it had, if possible, rendered her engagement more binding than before.

From which little romance let us pass to the very pretty denouement of that of Changarnier, who, being also captured in bed, refused to get up, refused to dress himself, or to allow himself to be dressed, swore that, if taken at all, he would be taken in bed, and was taken in bed, the bargain, taken at his word—being bundled up with such bedclothes as came readiest, and in that unseemly guise thrust into a vehicle and conveyed to prison. General Lamoriciere made a determined resistance of a more soldierly kind; but the impression seems to be, that the accounts of it which found its way into print was much exaggerated, and that no particular harm was done.

GERMANY.

Opinion of the Usurpation.—The Prussian *Military Journal* has an article on Louis Bonaparte's usurpation, which, as giving the opinions of soldiers upon such matters, may be interesting to our readers. The writer says:

What has happened and what is yet to happen is not the end, but the beginning, of an unknown something, a great struggle to shake the world. An army that feels its power, and suddenly sees the proof of it before it, will use and apply it; and as barricades will no longer get the better of the bayonet, regiments become parliamentary councils, where will be discussed what further is to be done.

The "intelligence of the bayonets"—a puppet which was before power with the parliamentarians—has been embodied, is present, has been employed, and its all-crushing activity has been recognised. It is a gloomy prelude, even though a momentary advantage should spring from it. If the French army withstands this temptation, the most fatal of all, it will be truly worthy of all admiration. We admit that our heart beats with joy when we see all the possible consequences. A legitimacy defended by an army is wonderfully strong; a legitimacy created by the army has no future.

AUSTRIA.

The Mother and Sisters of Kossuth.—We read in the *Augsburg Gazette* of the 1st: "The house occupied by the mother and sisters of Kossuth, opposite the Károly Palace, was surrounded in the night, and perquisitions were made in their apartments. Kossuth's sisters, Mesdames Rutthay and Meselengi, and the tutor of the latter's children, were afterwards removed to another part of the building. The mother of Kossuth obtained permission to remain in her apartment, but she was placed under the surveillance of the police. The tutor was subsequently put in irons.

Things in the Provinces.—The news from the provinces is represented as still more discouraging. The Archduke Albert, unable to calm the excitement of men's minds in Hungary, has returned to Vienna, in alarm, for fresh instructions. At Prague, the Bohemian capital, the most conservative population in Europe has been shaken; and the new tariff has been received with no much distaste in Austria proper, that at this moment it is in arms in Transylvania, in pillage, violation, and murder. It may be so. But the same thing has been said with regard to the resistance in Paris; and yet we all know that the splendid boulevard on the side of the Boulevards, extending for the length of an English mile between the Maison Deree and the Port St. Denis, which many now be seen riddled with the bullets of the soldiery from the ground floor to the fifth story, are not inhabited by persons of that description.

ITALY.

Political Prisoners at Naples.—A letter dated Cosenza (Calabria) says: "A miserable scene took place here some days since, which is not generally known. The political prisoners, nearly 500 in number, were removed from their different places of confinement to the central prison of Paola, and the cells of these men have been two years in prison, praying in vain for trial. As they were marched through the town, many people wept at their appearance. A priest—an old lawyers, venerable priests, and medical men, personally known to many spectators, loved and respected—some of them looking miserably altered, and all more or less ailing from the long and severe imprisonment." The same letter states that in the province of Calabria Citra there are 972 political prisoners waiting trial in the prisons of Cosenza, Paola, Rassano, and Castrovillari.

ENGLAND.

Ex-Secretary Walker has been entertained in a public dinner at Manchester, and made a long speech. The *Daily News* compares him with Ben. Franklin. *The Times* thus comments on a portion of his speech:

Beyond the operation of tariffs and financial disputes, Mr. Walker casts a prophetic eye at the great conflict between military absolutism and constitutional government, which every day assumes a more serious aspect, which every day draws nearer to this island, and which will one day divide the whole world. There are no two States in the whole world, and never have been, so bound to one another, so mutually beneficial, and so able to work together, as the British Empire and the United States. *At present it seems impossible but that the whole of the continent of Europe should fall into the hands of military despots.* It seems equally impossible that we, with our American brethren, should lose our institutions or our enthusiasm for liberty. *Here, then, are the two countries in the great cause that threatens to divide and convulse the whole world.*

What will be required of us? What attempts will be made on us? What crusades ought to be undertaken? What assistance in any case are we to expect from America? For our islands we have no fear. Despotism is great on land, but impotent and craven on the sea. Wherever our ships can go, there we have no conquerors. As on the former occasion referred to by Mr. Walker, we protect the New World from the tyrannies of the Old. What, then, remains to be done? Are we expected to land on the continent of Europe, and fight single-handed with four huge military monarchies, mustering two or three millions of armed men? What degree of assistance are we to expect from America in marching into the centre of Europe? None, we should think.

However, there are many things to be considered. A hundred years ago, what was Russia? A hundred years hence, what will be the United States? An empire with not far short of two hundred million souls. Should anything happen to weaken Russia even by so much as the loss of a province, or even by expressed to unmerited indignity and oppression, and our services to Europe be forgotten—we have only to pray. *Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*, and that the prayer will one day bring across, on occasion, the messengers of a State that can apply to its purpose the resources of a continent and two oceans.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: J. H. Gregory, under the head of "Christianity Defended," No. 3, in the *National Era* of December 4th, asks, "What are the duties of professedly chargeable upon the church in its action on the slave question?" And then he goes on to say that "The church is never to be judged in the mass." "Neither is it to be judged because it has not shown an unbroken front against slavery, or waged a relentless war against it?" And he closes up on this point by telling us that the charge should be made "to the weakness of its *true*, and the unworthiness of its *false* professors." Now, I ask, why is not the church to be judged in the mass? Is there any portion of our citizens more thoroughly organized? Are we not told by its leaders, that it possesses a mighty influence, we must come into the church organization? And yet we are told, when we complain that the church does not oppose an admitted evil with their just power, we must not judge them *en masse*. And Mr. Gregory goes on and tells us, as above, that the church must not be charged, because it has "not presented an unbroken front," and we are told we must be silent in the face of the United States was pleased to bestow upon Hungary by bestowing it upon its freely-chosen chief, when he became a persecuted victim of despotic violence.

I beg leave to express my fervent thanks, in my name and in the name of my associates who, after having shared my misfortunes, have now to reward to share the honor and the benefit which the people